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Copy No.

**FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE**

**RESPECTING**

**LIBYA**

**PART 6**

**January to December 1956**

**SECRET**



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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING  
LIBYA—PART 6

JT 1016/1

No. 1

COMMENTS ON FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received January 3)*

(No. 3. Confidential)  
Sir,

*Tripoli,  
January 2, 1956.*

With reference to my despatch No. 198 of November 10, 1955, I have the honour to report that at least in Tripolitania the campaign for the general election on January 7 has reached a stage at which it is possible to predict the approximate result with some confidence. In this province there are altogether 35 constituencies. In 24 of these only a single candidate remains; and of these 24, 20 at least are recognised as supporters of the present Government. As Government supporters will certainly win some of the remaining 11 seats, it is clear that in Tripolitania the Government will hold a great advantage, possibly amounting to as much as 30 out of the 35 seats.

2. This fact is, however, no certain indication of the Government's overwhelming popularity, since the electoral method is far from democratic. In the town of Tripoli the election is by secret ballot, and the Opposition candidates may be expected to be sufficiently vigilant to make it very difficult for the Government to rig the results. Consequently there is a real contest in all the half-dozen Tripoli constituencies. There are five or six candidates for most of them, and the results are very difficult to forecast.

3. In the other constituencies of the province, however, the method of voting is different. Each individual records his vote through a teller. The vote is made openly, so that the Government is able to bring pressure to bear in advance; if this pressure is insufficient, the tellers are quite capable of writing down A where the voter had opted for B. The fact that this is possible, and is known to be possible, has the happy effect (from the Government's point of view) that it is not often necessary to resort to it, as Opposition candidates can generally be persuaded to withdraw their candidature before the day of the election. Even before the closing date for registration of candidates there were many withdrawals, and more occur every day. It is possible that even in some of the 11 constituencies where at the moment several candidates are standing, means will be found before the day of the election to secure the unopposed return of the pro-Government man.

4. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the elections are hardly taken seriously by the man in the street or the man in the tent, who is inclined to enquire whether it would not save trouble for the Government to nominate all the deputies. Nevertheless, in the contested constituencies in Tripoli town the election may be expected to be fiercely fought, and though personalities enter into the result at least as much as principles, some indication should be given of the ordinary townsman's feeling about his Government.

5. I have no up-to-date news from Cyrenaica, but there is certain to be far more effective opposition to the Government there than here. In Benghazi town two Federal Ministers, Ali Sahli, the Minister of Finance, and Abdulsalam Bseikry, the Minister of Education, have withdrawn their candidatures because it seemed likely that they would be beaten, and they dared not risk the loss of prestige. Unexpectedly a last-minute opponent has even appeared to fight the Prime Minister in his native Derna. He should win there, but his personal unpopularity in Cyrenaica generally may well be reflected in the results throughout the Province. It is unlikely, however, that the opposition will amount to more than a small minority of the new Chamber of Deputies, in view of the Government's overwhelming strength in Tripoli.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.

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JT 1011/1

No. 2

**LIBYA: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1955***Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received January 13)*

(No. 8. Confidential)  
Sir,

*Tripoli,  
January 7, 1956.*

With reference to Mr. Ravensdale's despatch No. 8 of January 20, 1955, I have the honour to transmit an Annual Report for Libya for 1955, together with a Calendar of the Principal Events of the year.

**Libya at the Crossroads**

2. Outwardly, 1955 seemed a quiet and uneventful year for Libya, marked principally by her entry into the United Nations: inwardly it may have carried her to a decisive crossroads at which she will have to choose her future path. Throughout the year, while not actually disparaging the Western connection, Libya was careful to assert her entire independence and freedom of action, occasionally by gestures which she herself half realised were not in her own best interests.

3. The first important problem was the attitude to be adopted towards the Bagdad Pact. Here the Prime Minister, Mustapha Ben Halim, tended to lean towards Egypt, though never unequivocally. His statements on the subject, usually Delphic in Libya, were, however, clearer in Cairo, and it was the general opinion in the spring and early summer that he was bent on carrying Libya into the Egyptian camp in this matter and others. The pro-Egyptian movement reached a peak in June, when King Idris visited Cairo and married an Egyptian lady, Aliya Lamlun, of remotely Libyan origin. Subsequently Egyptian influence in Libya waned, and by the end of the year relations between the two countries were distinctly cool.

4. Nevertheless, Libya continued to be extremely sensitive to Egyptian opinion, and nervous of criticism in the Egyptian press. On the Arab-Israel question she loyally followed the policy of the Arab League, including the boycott of Israel, to the very limited extent that it concerned her. Fear of Egyptian criticism also undoubtedly played a part in restricting Libya's vigilance about arms smuggling into French North Africa, over which there were a number of French complaints.

5. Libya was, moreover, not above learning another lesson of doubtful value from Egypt, and in the autumn the news of Egypt's intention to buy Czechoslovak arms was shortly followed by the announcement that Libya would establish diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Although it is true that this proposal had secretly been under consideration for some time, it was impossible not to link it with the current Russian drive into the Middle East; and both the British and American Governments privately expressed their regret that the Libyan Government should have taken so important a step without informing them in advance. The Libyan authorities are already somewhat nervous at what they have done, particularly since the first Russian Ambassador is to be N. I. Generalov, who was the Ambassador in Canberra at the time of the Petrov case, and they intend to keep the Russians under close surveillance. Nevertheless, the Government's decision seems to have been generally welcomed at home. The official reason for acceding to the Russian request was to obtain Russian support for Libya's entry into the United Nations. Privately the King told me that it was done to prove to the world that Libya's foreign policy was entirely independent. In fact, an important reason seems to be the desire to play off the east against the west, and to encourage the two sides to outbid each other in buying Libya's friendship with expensive gifts.

6. The success, at least in the short term, of this kind of policy was illustrated almost immediately. In October the Egyptian Government, endeavouring to retrieve some of its lost ground, offered to present the Libyan army with unlimited



quantities of any military equipment manufactured in Egypt. Ben Halim immediately informed my American colleague and myself of this offer. He said he did not want to accept it, but would find it politically impossible to refuse unless he could tell Parliament that British and American generosity towards Libya made the Egyptian offer superfluous. The "squeeze-play" worked. The American Government had for over a year postponed a decision on a Libyan request for an arms gift; they now promptly agreed to join Britain in a joint gift of equipment for an armoured car squadron, and are seriously considering a series of further gifts.

7. The success of this ruse (for Ben Halim certainly never wished to accept the Egyptian offer) went somewhat to Libyan heads, and when, in December, they read that Britain and America had decided to assist Egypt in financing the High Dam at Assouan, Ben Halim protested harshly against our doing so just after declining (in Britain's case on the grounds of financial stringency) to assist in a project for expanding the Tripoli Power Company. He even threatened that, since the West seemed to be more generous to "difficult" countries than to loyal allies, Libya might have to reconsider her tactics. This train of thought may have done something to postpone a Cabinet decision about a long list of amendments to the Anglo-Libyan Military Agreement which we had submitted to the Prime Minister in the summer, although administrative dilatoriness was certainly the principal reason for the delay. There is no doubt that the Libyan Government are seriously considering whether it would be in their interests to be "difficult" instead of reasonable, and to substitute threats and blackmail for co-operation.

#### Relations with Egypt

8. There were a number of reasons for the sudden coolness that developed in Libyan-Egyptian relations after the warmth of early summer. The apparent failure of the King's second marriage may have been an important factor. His Majesty arrived in Tripoli in June to spend his honeymoon in the hills nearby. But at the beginning of August he suddenly left for Cyrenaica, without his bride, and has remained there ever since. The first Queen, Fatima, subsequently joined him in Tobruk, but Queen Aliya languishes alone in Tripoli. A more important reason is probably a genuine Libyan fear of Egyptian domination, and a widespread dislike of Egyptian airs of superiority. Slighting references to Libya in the Egyptian press have contributed to this dislike. In their days of triumph just after the Lamlun marriage the Egyptians undoubtedly overplayed their hand in Libya, and increased their own unpopularity. Libya cannot yet dispense with Egyptian help, particularly in the field of education, but she is looking forward to the day when she can do so. It is remarkable by contrast how anxious the Libyan authorities remain to recruit British teachers and officials, in spite of the language difficulty and the far greater expense. The excellent work done by the British officials here is undoubtedly appreciated.

#### Other Foreign Affairs

9. In the field of foreign affairs, the most spectacular achievement of the year was the entry of Libya, together with fifteen other new members, into the United Nations. It is clear that this would have occurred even if Libya had declined to enter into diplomatic relations with Russia. Second only to this was the conclusion of a series of agreements with France. The evacuation of the small French garrisons remaining in the Fezzan had been ordained by the Libyan Government, but the French claimed the right to "re-activate" these bases in the event of war, and for six months the negotiations made little progress. The agreements were, however, finally signed in August, and provided for a gradual French evacuation, to be completed not later than the end of November 1956. The French retain the right to use certain airfields and tracks in the Fezzan as supply routes for their forces in Equatorial Africa, and are to make a substantial contribution to the Libyan exchequer. These agreements have not yet been ratified by either the French or Libyan Parliament.

10. Negotiations with Italy, chiefly over the ownership of "parastatal" property in Libya, and the amount of payment to be made by Italy for war damage, continued, and by the end of the year seemed to be near agreement.



11. Relations with Egypt, and the forthcoming establishment of relations with Russia have already been referred to. Relations with Britain and America continued generally cordial. The presence of large numbers of British and American troops in Libya is a source of income, and cases of friction are remarkably few. In all of the numerous matters this embassy has had to discuss with the Libyan authorities they have shown genuine goodwill, though frequently less efficiency and speed than could be desired. The Americans have found the going rather more difficult, chiefly because the Libyans are more hopeful of extracting further gifts from them, and the Prime Minister's public references to the United States Base Agreement have not always been kind.

#### Internal Affairs

12. Mustapha Ben Halim was Prime Minister during the whole of 1955, and there were few important Cabinet changes during the year. Ben Halim apparently continued to hold the King's confidence, which is the sole requisite for remaining in office, and in general was able to control both Parliament and the members of his Cabinet. His personal unpopularity has, however, been growing, particularly in Cyrenaica, where the Wali is his bitter opponent. The belief that he is pro-Egyptian is an important element in this unpopularity.

13. The Federal Parliament, whose four-year term is up, was dissolved on November 3, and general elections were ordered for January 7, 1956. No political parties are allowed in Libya, and all seats are therefore contested by nominally independent candidates; but strong Government pressure was brought to bear in favour of candidates thought to support Ben Halim. This pressure was effective in Tripolitania, where in a great majority of seats the favoured candidate was nominated unopposed, but a fiercer campaign developed in Cyrenaica. In Benghazi two Federal Ministers thought so poorly of their chances that they withdrew their candidatures, rather than risk the humiliation of a defeat.

14. One of the most pressing problems before Libya at the beginning of 1955 was the future development of the Constitution, and above all the succession to the throne. It cannot be said that much progress was made on this question during the year. The King, who is over 65, and not particularly robust, is childless. Since the murder, in October 1954, of his Court Minister by a nephew of Queen Fatima, he has been on bad terms with all members of her branch of the Senussi family, and he has tended to remain in seclusion at Tobruk, often apparently disinteresting himself in the details of Government. During the early part of the year rumours were current that the King was contemplating a change of the Constitution, so as to make Libya a republic, either immediately, with himself as first President, or on his death. Since the genuine attachment of most Libyans to the Senussi family is the cement that holds the three provinces together, it seemed likely that this plan might result in the break up of the country into smaller entities. This would be decidedly against British interests, but the Egyptians were thought to favour the establishment of a republic. However, the King's decision to marry a second wife, in the hopes of obtaining a heir, offered the Egyptians a better method of extending their influence. They undoubtedly played a large part in the choice of Aliya Lamlun, whose age (she is certainly over 35, and possibly over 40) made her a surprising selection as the mother of a line of kings.

15. The dynastic question became more urgent at the end of July, with the sudden death of the Emir Mohammed el Rida, the King's brother and Heir Presumptive. The King subsequently declined to nominate Mohammed's son, or anyone else, as his heir; there is no immediate prospect that Queen Aliya will bear the King a son; and though the Constitution lays down a procedure to be followed in the event of the King's death it is most unlikely that Parliament would be able to agree on a successor without serious friction. During the autumn, therefore, Ben Halim tried to persuade the King to nominate a "Throne Council," which would exercise the functions of Head of State after the King's death, at least for a year or two, when a referendum might be held in a calmer atmosphere. By the end of the year, however, nothing had been announced, and the approach of the general elections caused the matter to be laid aside for the time being.

16. All Libyan Prime Ministers have wished to strengthen the powers of the Federal Government at the expense of the Provincial Governments, whose



considerable autonomy causes, in so thinly populated a country, both inefficiency and extravagance. The King has always resisted any proposals to change the Constitution in this sense for fear of increasing Cyrenaican suspicions of Tripolitanian dominance; but within the framework of the Constitution he has encouraged a greater administrative centralisation. The most conspicuous example of this policy was the decision not to make the annual transfer of the Federal capital this November, when it should have returned to Benghazi. Instead, the capital remains in Tripoli, and the money saved by not making the move is to be spent in Cyrenaica, on reconstruction in Benghazi and the building of a "summer capital" at Beida. Ostensibly the transfer has only been postponed for a year, but many people undoubtedly hope that the passage of time, and the steady growth in the size of the Federal Government, will make it more and more obviously impossible to migrate between two capitals a thousand miles apart.

### Economic

17. The National Bank Law, and the Agricultural Bank Law, were both passed in April, and preparations have been made to set up the National Bank. Dr. Ali Aneizi, former Finance Minister, has been appointed Governor, with a British Deputy and a number of other British officials. It is hoped to open for business on April 1, 1956. Little progress has so far been made towards opening the Agricultural Bank.

18. Although full statistics are not yet available, it seems clear that there was an inflationary tendency during the year, with a marked rise in the cost of living. For the first nine months of the year imports amounted to £L.9.9 million as compared with £L.7.9 million for the same period in 1954, while exports rose only from £L.2.4 million to £L.2.6 million. Nevertheless, budgeted receipts and expenditure were not greatly out of balance. Total income for 1955 was estimated at nearly £L.10 million, made up as follows:—

|                                                                                                 | £L. Million |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| (a) Foreign aid for development purposes, including £L.1 million from the United Kingdom ... .. | 4.25        |
| (b) United Kingdom grant for non-development purposes ... ..                                    | 2.75        |
| (c) Internal revenue (customs and other governmental sources) ... ..                            | 2.75        |
| (d) Reserves ... ..                                                                             | 0.1         |

Budgeted expenditure, apart from development funds, was:—

|                                          |      |
|------------------------------------------|------|
| (a) Federal budget ... ..                | 2.25 |
| (b) Deficit of provincial budgets ... .. | 3.50 |

19. Extraordinary funds available in 1955, mainly arrears of the British grant, and a higher yield than estimated from customs returns, amounted to some £L.1.25 million. These were earmarked for agricultural development, but about a quarter had to be diverted to an anti-locust campaign.

20. Libya remained very largely dependent on foreign aid. Of the £L.4.25 million for development, the greater part came from United States sources, but in addition to the £L.1 million from the United Kingdom, contributions also came from France, Egypt, Turkey and Italy. The United Nations Technical Assistance Mission continued to provide advisers in a number of fields, and towards the end of the year it was announced that United Nations assistance would be on an increased scale next year.

21. During the course of the year the American Point Four organisation, Libyan-American Technical Assistance Service (L.A.T.A.S.), which had been somewhat of a failure, was reorganised, and renamed the United States Operations Mission (U.S.O.M.); and a new organisation, known as the Libyan-American Reconstruction Commission (L.A.R.C.), was set up, with additional funds. These bodies work closely with the Libyan Public Development and Stabilisation Agency. The American Government also contributed large stocks of relief foods to meet the deficiency caused by another bad harvest. For the third successive year there was a serious drought over most of Libya, and in Tripolitania the damage was accentuated by a serious plague of locusts in May and June, which British and American servicemen assisted to fight. Further swarms in the late autumn did little damage at the time but constitute a threat for the spring. The autumn rains were again late, and the crop prospects for 1956 are dubious.



22. Libya's chief hope of becoming economically self-sufficient, and her only chance of ever achieving wealth, lies in the possibility of finding oil. An oil law was passed on June 19, and two British, one French and eight American companies, who had played a large part in the drafting of the law, subsequently submitted applications for concessions to drill. These applications heavily overlapped in the most promising areas, both in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and the Petroleum Commission therefore invited the companies to negotiate among themselves in an endeavour to reach agreement. After weeks of detailed bargaining all the companies involved, except the French company and the Libyan-American Oil Company (a combination of one of the smaller United States companies and Libyan interests) reached agreement, and submitted revised applications. It was therefore with a mixture of surprise and fury that the major companies learned the decision of the commission to allocate the whole of what are considered the best structures to these two dissident companies. Since the terms of the applications are confidential, it is impossible to say what decided the commission, but it is known that the Libyan-American Company at least undertook to develop its areas much faster, and to spend far more money in a shorter period, than the larger companies were prepared to do. Suspicions of personal interest also exist. The first reaction of the major companies to this unfavourable decision was to contemplate withdrawal from Libya, but they were unable to reach unanimity among themselves, and in the end they all decided to accept, with a bad grace, the areas granted to them. The British companies were particularly disappointed, because they had had some reason to hope that recognition would be given to the fact that they had been first in the field. However, so little preliminary surveying has been done in Libya that some of the despised areas may well turn out to be the richest. Drilling is expected to begin next April, but it may be years before it is known definitely whether any valuable deposits exist.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.

Enclosure

#### CALENDAR OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN LIBYA IN 1955

##### January

27 Libyan army held first manoeuvres near Tripoli.

##### February

6 Execution in Benghazi of Sherif ben Mohi al Din, murderer of Ibrahim Shelhi.

##### March

23-24 S.S. *Agamemnon* and M.V. *Nieu Amsterdam* brought 800 tourists to Tripoli.

##### April

15 Abdulsalam al Buseiri, Wali of Tripolitania, appointed Chief of Royal Cabinet. Succeeded as Wali by Jamal al din Bashaga.

26 Dr. Aneizi, Minister of Finance, appointed Governor of Libyan National Bank, and succeeded by Ali Sahli, former Minister of Communications. Mustafa Serraj, Minister of Education, replaced by Abdulsalam Esekry. Abdul Majid Keobar, President of Chamber of Deputies, appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Communications.

26 National Bank Law enacted.

##### May

7 Result of 1954 Census published. Population of Tripolitania 746,064; of Cyrenaica 291,328; of Fezzan 54,438. Total: 1,091,830.

26 King Idris left Tobruk for Alexandria.

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*June*

- 5 Marriage of King Idris to Aliya Lamlun in Cairo.
- 13 King Idris and Queen Fatima arrived in Tripoli.
- 28 United Nations Tribunal awarded Libyan Government ownership of important properties formerly considered private Italian property.
- 30 Queen Aliya arrived in Tripoli.

*July*

- 17-30 Libyan Minister of Defence visited Britain.
- 19 Resumption of Franco-Libyan talks on Fezzan.
- 21 Signature of new agreement for American Technical Assistance for Libya.
- 29 Death of the Emir Mohammed el Rida, Heir Presumptive to the Throne.

*August*

- 2 King Idris left Tripoli for Beida. Both Queens remained in Tripoli.
- 8 Saleh Buesir, Acting President of Chamber of Deputies, fled to Tunis disguised as a woman.
- 10 Franco-Libyan Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourhood signed.

*September*

- 22 B.O.A.C. Argonaut on route London/Kano crashed near Tripoli with loss of fifteen lives.
- 25 Announcement of Libyan Government's intention to establish diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R.

*October*

- 1 Announcement of intention to establish diplomatic relations between Libya and Yugoslavia.

*November*

- 1-2 Visit of 600 French pilgrims, led by General Koenig, to Tobruk and Bir Hachim.
- 3 Federal Parliament dissolved, and new elections ordered for January 7.
- 16 Announcement of joint Anglo-American gift of arms to Libya.
- 18 Visit of Egyptian Cultural Delegation, led by Minister of Education.
- 19 Reappearance of *Al Liwa*, a pro-Egyptian weekly paper.
- 20 Dedication of German War Memorial at Tobruk.
- 30 French military posts at Brak and Sinawen in Fezzan handed over to Libyan troops.

*December*

- 14 Libya entered United Nations.



SECRET

JT 1102/5

No. 3

## SOVIET AID TO LIBYA

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received January 24)*(No. 16. Secret)  
(Telegraphic)

Tripoli,

January 24, 1956.

Your telegram No. 12: Soviet Aid to Libya.

The Libyan Prime Minister expects to receive firm offer in writing of aid from Russians by January 26 or 27. Offer will include 40,000 or 50,000 tons of wheat and the whole offer will be on similar generous scale and allegedly without any conditions.

2. The Prime Minister will only be able to delay replying to Russians for a few days, so any decision about British aid should be reached as urgently as possible.

3. The Prime Minister and my United States colleague seem to have had stormy interview on January 22, and the Prime Minister is for the moment very angry with the Americans.

4. Please also see my letter of to-day to Watson.

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JT 1016/8

No. 4

## OPENING OF LIBYAN PARLIAMENT BY KING IDRIS

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received February 9)*

(No. 20. Confidential)  
Sir,

Tripoli,  
January 25, 1956.

With reference to my despatch No. 198 of November 10, 1955, I have the honour to report that the new Libyan Parliament was formally opened by King Idris in Derna on January 21. A summary translation of the royal speech is enclosed.

2. Although Tripoli is the present seat of the Government, and it is here that Parliament will meet, at least for most of this year, it had originally been intended that the official opening should take place in Benghazi. But some days ago it was announced that the King's health would not allow him to make the journey from Tobruk to Benghazi, which takes about seven hours by car, and that the opening would therefore take place in Derna. Derna is only about two hours distant from Tobruk by car, but is otherwise unsuited to a ceremony of this kind. It is a pleasant little town, but its accommodation is utterly inadequate. Nevertheless, the decision to meet elsewhere than in Benghazi was not unexpected. The King's health is, I understand, quite normal, but ever since Ibrahim Shelhi was murdered in Benghazi, in the autumn of 1954, His Majesty has avoided the town as far as possible.

3. In the royal palace (or more exactly rest house) in Derna the largest room is of no great size, and the physical problem of fitting into it the 55 members of the Chamber of Deputies, the 20 Senators, the leading Federal and Provincial officials, and members of the Diplomatic Corps was even greater than that of finding hotel accommodation for them all in the vicinity. Hotels as far afield as Cyrene and Beida were pressed into service, and numbers were limited as much as possible; for example, Heads of Missions were invited without any members of their staffs. The majority of my colleagues spent the night at the hotel at Cyrene, which was specially opened for them, but was not, I understand, particularly comfortable. I was more fortunate in that the Embassy maintains a small cottage at Cyrene. All Heads of Mission normally resident in Tripoli were present, except for the Spanish Minister.

4. Even with the numbers restricted to the utmost, the hall in the palace was excessively congested. Guests were requested to be in their places by 10 o'clock, an hour before the beginning of the ceremony, and the room soon became uncomfortably hot, which possibly excused the Minister of Defence for falling asleep during the reading of the King's speech. Press photographers showed their usual lack of manners, and climbed roughly over us all. Otherwise, considering the difficulties, the arrangements were good and the ceremony dignified. There was a picturesque and colourful variety of costume.

5. The King entered the hall punctually at 11.00, and seated himself on the throne. The speech was handed to him by the Chief of the Royal Diwan, Sayed Abdul Salam Busairi. The King then handed it to the Prime Minister, Mustafa Ben Halim, who read it clearly but rapidly. At the conclusion of the reading the Prime Minister returned the speech to the King, who handed it to the President of the Senate, Sayed Ali Abdia. The King then left the hall, and the ceremony was over. Some of my colleagues complained that after being summoned 1,500 miles, they should at least have been allowed to shake hands with His Majesty. They can have been little comforted by an official luncheon, presided over by the Minister of Justice, Ali Sahli, at the Derna hotel, for the food was unusually bad.

6. Although the Prime Minister read fast, the speech lasted over 35 minutes, and I noticed with admiration that the King remained virtually motionless throughout, except for his eyes, which were alert and restless. Although the throne was doubtless more comfortable than the iron chairs provided for the Diplomatic Corps, such dignified immobility cannot have been easy.

7. The first and most striking item in the speech was the reference to the Bill to set up a Throne Council. I shall be commenting on this separately when the text is available. Otherwise there was little of particular interest, and nothing surprising, in the speech, which was mainly a summary of the year's progress. Britain was described as Libya's "ally" and the United States as her "friend", and there was



a reference to the Anglo-American arms gift. Friendship was claimed equally with Egypt, Iraq and Turkey, and it was stressed that Libya took a neutral attitude towards both Arab-Western and bilateral Arab alliances. After referring to the signature of the Franco-Libyan accords the speech gave the French some advice on the conduct of their North African affairs; this was the only time that it strayed outside its proper province. The only mention of the Soviet Union was a reference to the fact that during the past year Libya had established diplomatic relations with India, Pakistan, the Federal German Republic and the USSR.

8. Thanks to the co-operation of the British military broadcasting stations in Benghazi and Tripoli the speech was broadcast throughout Libya, and re-broadcast the same evening. A tape recording has also been flown to London, and is I understand to be re-broadcast in the BBC's Arabic service. Reception was very good in both Benghazi and Tripoli, and the Army's co-operation in this matter was greatly appreciated.

9. After the opening ceremony the members of the Lower House met and, as previously arranged, elected Abdul Majid Kubar President. Kubar had held this office for three years before being appointed Minister of Communications and Deputy Prime Minister some nine months ago. No announcement has yet been made as to his successor in the Council of Ministers, nor of the other Ministerial changes which are expected. After this election the Deputies dispersed, with the intention of holding their first regular session in Tripoli on January 25.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Cairo, the Political Officer, Middle East Forces and to Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General in Benghazi.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.

Enclosure

SUMMARY TRANSLATION OF THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE,  
DERNA, JANUARY 21st, 1956

1. The speech opened with praise for the achievements of the first Parliament and praise of the quiet and free atmosphere in which polling took place in the recent elections.

2. *Throne Council.*—In order to preserve peace and stability, progress and prosperity, in our dear country in our lifetime and after it, and in case we should die without an heir from our own stock, and in order to avoid our people being plunged into disorder and instability, and in order that we may be tranquil in our minds regarding our dear country, that high trust which our beloved people has conferred on us, and for the future of which the Libyan people have fought for many bitter years, my Government, in order to secure this high national aim within the entity of the Libyan State will submit to your honourable house to-day a draft law whose text has been reviewed by the Supreme Federal Court, to establish a throne council whose members will be chosen from among the sincere and active patriots to exercise the constitutional powers of the King in the name of the Libyan people, in the case of our death without an heir for the duration of the period necessary to take the required constitutional steps to consult the people over the case of the leadership of the Libyan State at a time when peace and stability prevail. We wish your honourable House to consider this draft law with all expedition in view of its great importance.

3. Strengthening the internal constitution of the State by following a policy of full collaboration between the three Provinces.

4. *Foreign Affairs.*—My Government is anxious to maintain friendly relations with friendly States and to co-operate sincerely with all peace-loving nations. Therefore my Government has held and still holds out her hand to every Government who shows sincere wishes to collaborate on the basis of peaceful principles, mutual respect and equity in dealings.

My Government confirms that it puts national welfare and the prestige and sovereignty of the State first, and declares its eagerness to respect its international

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obligations and good relations with its ally Great Britain and its friend the United States and with other States which have common interests with it.

My Government declares its firm intention to participate as much as possible with its sister Arab States in every effort for the strengthening of the Arab League and in attaining the common aims of the Arab peoples. My Government will be always pleased to take part in any attempt to maintain Arab unity.

My Government declares that as it maintains brotherly and good neighbourly relations with Egypt, and at the same time brotherly relations with Iraq and traditional friendly relations with Turkey, it takes therefore a completely neutral attitude towards both the Arab-Western alliances and bilateral Arab alliances.

My Government has welcomed the declaration of the Sudan as an independent sovereign State. It has lost no time in proclaiming its recognition, wishing at the same time a happy and glorious life for our brothers the people of the Sudan and more strength and unity for the Arabs.

My Government has pleasure in declaring its joy on joining the United Nations. This will strengthen the international position of Libya and will open the way before us for active participation in the promotion of peace and in supporting the Arab cause. My Government renews its pledge to meet its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

My Government has pleasure also in pointing to its participation in the Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung last year, and to show its pleasure in the sound principles decided upon at this Conference. In the light of these principles my Government intends to build her relations.

As proof of the desire of my Government to co-operate and to stabilise international relations, it has accepted with pleasure the establishment of diplomatic relations with India, Pakistan, Western Germany and the USSR. It has also welcomed the desire of the Netherlands Government to accredit a diplomatic mission to Libya.

My Government is especially pleased to announce that Franco-Libyan relations have finally been regulated by a Treaty of Friendship which will be submitted to you for ratification as soon as possible. My Government confirms that in the stipulations of this Treaty it has realised the desire of the people for the evacuation of French Forces from the Fezzan, and that, by virtue of its strength in its will to realise all the hopes of the people and thanks to the good spirit of understanding shown by the French Government, it succeeded in fulfilling its promise. In fact the evacuation of French Forces from the Fezzan started on the 30th of last November. The rest of the French Forces will complete evacuation from this dear part of our beloved country by November this year. As the result of the amicable settlement of Franco-Libyan affairs, my Government has decided to send in the very near future a diplomatic mission to Paris and to open Consulates in Tunis and Chad to look after the interests of Libyan communities in our sister country, Tunisia, and in French Equatorial Africa. My Government observes with great interest the development of events in North Africa. My Government hopes that the French Government will show more understanding for the rights of the people of this important part of the Arab world by responding to their legitimate national aspirations to enjoy sovereignty and complete freedom, and that France will establish her relations with them on a new basis of mutual respect.

My Government has pleasure in informing you that the Libyan and Italian Delegations in the negotiations for the settlement of disputed properties and related problems which have arisen from the passage of sovereignty to Libya, have reached a comprehensive agreement which will come to you for ratification in the very near future as soon as the study of certain technical details has been completed.

I would like on this occasion to express my pleasure at the spirit of friendship and understanding which has dominated the negotiations between the two parties from the beginning until achieving these positive results which my Government hopes will be the start of a new era of ever increasing co-operation between the two peoples and the two Governments.

My Government feels a sincere desire to respond to the Italian Government's attitude to promote the present good relations between Libya and Italy.

My Government is aware of the fact that the geographical position of the two countries and their common interests encourage more co-operation between them.



My Government hopes that the settlement of the problem of disputed properties and other related problems will open the door for more co-operation and increase the extent of friendly relations between the two countries.

My Government declares its high consideration of the assistance given by the United Nations and its agencies to Libya. It confirms its wish to make use of this assistance and any other assistance to develop the resources of the country and strengthen the independence and sovereignty of Libya.

#### 5. *Legislation and Courts*

- (a) Unification of Sharia Courts and Civil Courts.
- (b) New Legislation amending Criminal Procedure Law and Penal Law.

#### 6. *Education*

- (a) New school building with the help of the L.P.D.S.A.
- (b) A long-term policy to make primary and secondary education available for all.
- (c) Reconsideration of syllabuses; new books of geography and history were prepared with the help of UNESCO for primary schools.
- (d) In the light of past experience, the Educational Law will be reconsidered.
- (e) School feeding was introduced last year.
- (f) The foundation of a Libyan University.
- (g) My Government is grateful to Egypt and other friendly States and international organisations for their help in this field.

#### 7. *Communications*

- (a) Federal roads, roads to the Fezzan, reconstruction of destroyed bridges during the Second World War, preliminary steps for the creation of broadcasting stations in both capitals, telephone landlines between Tripoli and Misurata, and between Benghazi and district. Telecommunications with foreign countries.
- (b) Libya joined the Arab Union of Telecommunications.
- (c) New regulations for postal services, civil aviation and meteorology.
- (d) Repair of Benina and Idris Airport, improvement to Tripoli port, reconstruction of Benghazi port and clearing of Derna harbour of mines.
- (e) The Government proposes forming a Libyan Civil Aviation Co.
- (f) Thanks expressed for the meteorological equipment presented by the United Nations.

#### 8. *Finance and Economics*

- (a) The Government was able, with the help of American wheat, to counteract the disastrous condition of drought and locust raids.
- (b) Libyan National Bank and Agricultural Bank.
- (c) New draft laws for social security and co-operative societies.

#### 9. *Forestry and Agriculture*

- (a) L.R.A.C. and other agencies' efforts in irrigation, soil protection, forestry, agricultural roads, &c., &c.
- (b) The Government pays 20 per cent. of the cost of fertilisers.
- (c) New draft laws on agricultural epidemics, protection of cattle, protection and development of water supplies.
- (d) Negotiations for the amendment of the Commercial Agreement with Egypt.
- (e) Encouragement of export of local products and tourism.
- (f) Draft Trade Mark Law.
- (g) Petroleum Law and concessions.
- (h) Census and statistics.

#### 10. *Public Health.*—Draft law for the creation of a Supreme Public Health Council.



11. *Defence.*—After giving an account of the increasing power of the Libyan Army the speech went on:

My Government is supplementing the Army with an artillery and armoured vehicle unit. The nucleus of this unit was formed on the arrival of the Turkish guns and the first shipment of armoured vehicles presented by the British and American Governments. My Government takes this opportunity of expressing its appreciation and thanks to the three friendly Governments.

12. *Federal Police.*—A draft of a law about the residence of foreigners.

13. *Civil Service and Pensions.*—New laws to be presented.

14. *Press, publicity and radio.*—Establishment of a Press Office to deal with public relations in foreign countries.

The speech ended with an expression of loyalty and a prayer to the Almighty for success and prosperity.

|                                                |        |                          |                |
|------------------------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs | ... .. | Sayid Mustafa Ben Halim  | (L.P. No. 83)  |
| Minister of State                              | ... .. | Sayid Khalil Qallal      | (L.P. No. 161) |
| Minister of Defence                            | ... .. | Sayid Ali Janda          | (L.P. No. 99)  |
| Minister of Justice                            | ... .. | Sayid Ali Sahli          | (L.P. No. 170) |
| Minister of Education                          | ... .. | Sayid Abdul Rahman Qalub | (L.P. No. 160) |
| Minister of Communications                     | ... .. | Sayid Salim al Kadi      | (L.P. No. 101) |
| Minister of State                              | ... .. | Sayid Mohamed bin Fikini | (L.P. No. 68)  |
| Minister of National Economy                   | ... .. | Sayid Murtadha Atayib    | (L.P. No. 20)  |
| Minister of Finance                            | ... .. | Sayid Ismail Ben Lamin   | (L.P. No. 117) |
| Minister of Health                             | ... .. | Sayid Mohammad Uthman    | (L.P. No. 213) |

The Cabinet has been increased by two Ministers of State. There are now 5 Tripolitanian Ministers, 4 Cyrenaican Ministers and 1 Fezzani Minister.

4. In the first place, I am delighted that Ben Halim is remaining as Foreign Minister. If Ali Sahli, as was once suggested, or indeed anyone else, had been appointed, it would merely have meant that one had to deal through an intermediary instead of direct with the one man who gets things done. It would be far more satisfactory to continue dealing direct with Ben Halim.

5. Of the changes in the Government, a number are merely transfers from one Ministry to another. Ali Sahli is delighted to go from Finance to Justice.



My Government hopes that the settlement of the problem of disputed properties and other related problems will open the door for more co-operation and increase the extent of friendly relations between the two countries.

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13. *Civil Service and Pensions.*—New laws to be presented.

14. *Press, publicity and radio.*—Establishment of a Press Office to deal with public relations in foreign countries.

The speech ended with an expression of loyalty and a prayer to the Almighty for success and prosperity.

The Prime Minister flew to Tobruk on March 22 and shortly after his departure the King thespoon asked him to resign. The new Ministry was announced last night at 8 p.m. immediately after the broadcast of the National Bank of Libya. The following is the new list of Ministers:

|                                                |        |                          |                |
|------------------------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs | ... .. | Sayid Mustafa Ben Halim  | (L.P. No. 82)  |
| Minister of State                              | ... .. | Sayid Khalil Qalbi       | (L.P. No. 161) |
| Minister of Defence                            | ... .. | Sayid Ali Jarida         | (L.P. No. 90)  |
| Minister of Justice                            | ... .. | Sayid Ali Sahli          | (L.P. No. 120) |
| Minister of Education                          | ... .. | Sayid Abdul Rahman Qalbi | (L.P. No. 160) |
| Minister of Communications                     | ... .. | Sayid Salim al Kadi      | (L.P. No. 101) |
| Minister of State                              | ... .. | Sayid Muhsin Fikri       | (L.P. No. 68)  |
| Minister of National Economy                   | ... .. | Sayid Muhsin Atagi       | (L.P. No. 20)  |
| Minister of Finance                            | ... .. | Sayid Ismail Ben Lamin   | (L.P. No. 117) |
| Minister of Health                             | ... .. | Sayid Muhammad Uthman    | (L.P. No. 213) |

The Cabinet has been increased by two Ministers of State. There are now 5 Tripolitanian Ministers, 4 Cyrenaican Ministers and 1 Pashan Minister.

4. In the first place, I am delighted that Ben Halim is remaining as Foreign Minister. If Ali Sahli, as was once suggested or indeed anyone else, had been appointed, it would merely have meant that one had to deal through an intermediary instead of direct with the one man who gets things done. It will be far more satisfactory to continue dealing direct with Ben Halim.

5. Of the changes in the Government, a number are merely transfers from one Ministry to another. Ali Sahli is delighted to go from Finance to Justice.



JT 1016/12

No. 5

## FORMATION OF NEW LIBYAN GOVERNMENT

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received March 29)*(No. 47. Confidential)  
Sir,Tripoli,  
March 27, 1956.

With reference to my despatch No. 11 of January 11, 1956, I have the honour to report that the changes in the Libyan Government, which had been expected for some months, have now been announced. They were postponed partly in order to allow the old Cabinet to remain in office until after the ratification of the Franco-Libyan Treaty, and the election of new members of the Senate, which has also just taken place.

2. Some months ago it was proposed to reorganise some of the Ministries, particularly those dealing with economic and commercial matters. As part of this change the Prime Minister, Mustapha Ben Halim, would have taken charge of the Ministry of Finance himself. These plans have been abandoned, at least for the present, and the Prime Minister is retaining his present concurrent portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

3. The Prime Minister flew to Tobruk on March 25, and offered the resignation of his Government to King Idris. The King thereupon asked him to form a new Government. The new Ministry was announced last night at 6 p.m., immediately after the inauguration of the National Bank of Libya, attendance at which ceremony was the last official act of the outgoing Ministers. The following is the new list of Ministers:—

|                                              |     |                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------------------------|
| Sayid Mustafa Ben Halim ...<br>(L.P. No. 82) | ... | Prime Minister and Minister of<br>Foreign Affairs. |
| Sayid Khalil Qallal ...<br>(L.P. No. 161)    | ... | Minister of State.                                 |
| Sayid Ali Jauda ...<br>(L.P. No. 99)         | ... | Minister of Defence.                               |
| Sayid Ali Sahli ...<br>(L.P. No. 170)        | ... | Minister of Justice.                               |
| Sayid Abdul Rahman Qalhud<br>(L. P. No. 160) | ... | Minister of Education.                             |
| Sayid Salim al Kadi ...<br>(L.P. No. 101)    | ... | Minister of Communications.                        |
| Sayid Muhieddin Fikini ...<br>(L.P. No. 68)  | ... | Minister of State.                                 |
| Sayid Muftah Aragib ...<br>(L.P. No. 20)     | ... | Minister of National Economics.                    |
| Sayid Ismail Ben Lamin ...<br>(L.P. No. 117) | ... | Minister of Finance.                               |
| Sayid Mohammad Uthman<br>(L.P. No. 213)      | ... | Minister of Health.                                |

The Cabinet has been increased by two Ministers of State. There are now 5 Tripolitanian Ministers, 4 Cyrenaican Ministers and 1 Fezzani Minister.

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5. Of the changes in the Government, a number are merely transfers from one Ministry to another. Ali Sahli is delighted to go from Finance to Justice,



and should I think be a success in his new post. Salim al Kadi was not a very effective Minister of National Economy, and is unlikely to be any better as Minister of Communications. Qalhud, the former Minister of Justice, goes to Education. Mohammad bin Uthman, the Minister of Health, is the only Minister besides Ben Halim to retain his old post. Ben Shaaban, the former Minister of Defence, and Abdul Salam Bsaikri, the former Minister of Education, follow Abdul Majid Kubar out of the Government. It is unfortunate that these are the three Ministers who visited Britain last year on official tours.

6. Of the new members of the Government, there are two "Ministers of State," which means Ministers without Portfolio. Qallal is at present Ambassador in Cairo, and was for a short time Minister of Defence in the Saqisli Government. Fikini is a Counsellor in the Foreign Office. Their records suggest that neither of these will be particularly pro-Western in their attitudes, but the mutual dislike of Qallal and Ben Halim may be to our advantage.

7. Ismail Ben Lamin, the new Minister of Finance, was also a member of the Saqisli Government, as Minister without Portfolio. He has for some time been Chairman of the Tripolitanian Chamber of Commerce. He is a weak personality, and like other recent Ministers of Finance, he will probably find that Ben Halim conducts much of the financial business of the country without reference to him.

8. Aragib, the new Minister of National Economy, has been a Deputy for some time. He has the reputation of being intelligent, energetic, popular and very pro-British.

9. The new Minister of Defence, Ali Jauda, is well disposed towards Britain, and a man of sense. He should be a great improvement on Ben Shaaban, and in general I think the new Government is decidedly better than the old.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Benghazi.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.



JT 1102/67

No. 6

**CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE  
LIBYAN AMBASSADOR ON MARCH 24, 1956***Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Mr. Graham (Tripoli)*

(No. 52. Secret)

*Foreign Office,*

Sir,

*March 27, 1956.*

The Libyan Ambassador called at my request on the 24th of March. I informed him that my colleagues and I had carefully examined again the various requests for aid which the Libyan Prime Minister had made to me in Tripoli. The upshot of this examination was as follows.

2. The prospects for a British school in Tripoli were good. Sir Paul Sinker was looking into the question on the spot, and his detailed proposals would be considered with sympathy on his return. The Ambassador should reassure the Libyan Prime Minister on this score.

3. I said that my colleagues also understood the importance to the economic life of Libya of a new power station at Tripoli; and were willing to consider a loan for this purpose. But they required to know in more detail what was proposed than had yet been told us. For instance, was the money to be lent to the Libyan Government or to a company? Who would own the new power station? What provision would be made for amortising a loan—could this be a first charge on operating profits? What assurance would there be that all purchases of equipment from abroad would be made in the United Kingdom? Finally, I understood that the main purpose of the increased power was to pump water for an expanded agricultural output: were the necessary pumping stations and agricultural equipment available, and, if not, how were they to be provided? The Ambassador did not know the answers to most of these questions. But he said that Mr. Pyke, Financial Adviser to the Libyan Government, who is now in London, would be able to submit detailed proposals answering all these questions to the African Department early next week.

4. He expressed great appreciation of my assurance that it might be possible to find some money for a carefully planned scheme.

5. I then told the Ambassador that I had raised the question of making good the Libyan budget deficit with my colleagues, who had reacted unfavourably. I therefore feared that, in spite of the Libyan Prime Minister's personal appeal through the Secretary of State for War, which I had just received (your telegram No. 88), this would have to be left for the present. This year's budget had just been passed by the Libyan Parliament. The Ambassador said that the present seemed a good time to re-examine the whole question of United Kingdom aid to the Libyan budget. I replied that from our point of view it was an extremely bad time. In any case, we hoped to be able to do something about both the power station and the school; and I understood that the Americans had now made an offer with which the Libyan Government, according to a telegram I had just received from your Excellency (your telegram No. 86), was very pleased. If these expectations all materialised, this would represent a considerable increase in aid to Libya. The Ambassador did not dissent. I then said that since receiving the Libyan Prime Minister's message I had been thinking of ways in which we could arrange the budget deficit problem. It had occurred to me that this year and the next two years, when budget deficits were expected, we could perhaps take from our annual contribution of £1 million for development the sum necessary to balance the budget, which in two years' time would probably amount to our whole development contribution for that year. If this were done the United States Government, which preferred making contributions to development, might be able to help with the projects now earmarked for us, under their new proposals. This was at present only a personal idea, which I had not yet put to the United States Government, but I would do so if he agreed. The Ambassador seemed to think this would be a happy solution. He left saying that he had been much encouraged by his interview with me, and felt sure the Prime Minister would be equally pleased.

6. I have sent copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Benghazi, and to the Political Officer, Middle East Forces.

I am, &amp;c.

SELWYN LLOYD.

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No. 7

**VISIT TO TRIPOLI BY Mr. A. D. DODDS-PARKER, PARLIAMENTARY  
UNDER-SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BETWEEN APRIL 3  
AND 5, 1956**

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received April 12)*

(No. 54. Confidential)

*Tripoli,*

Sir,

*April 6, 1956.*

With reference to your telegram No. 95, I have the honour to report that Mr. A. D. Dodds-Parker, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, visited Tripoli *en route* to Ethiopia between April 3 and 5. He was accompanied by Mr. C. O. I. Ramsden of African Department, and Mr. C. R. A. Rae, Private Secretary.

2. The party arrived by French aircraft about 11 p.m. on April 3. Next morning was spent in consultations at the Embassy, and some official calls. After signing King Idris' Register at the Palace Mr. Dodds-Parker called on the Prime Minister, the Wali of Tripolitania and Suleiman Jerbi, the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All these calls were purely formal, and no business was discussed. In addition to talks with members of the Embassy staff Mr. Dodds-Parker also had long interviews with Major-General J. N. R. Moore, General Officer Commanding 10th Armoured Division, an old personal friend, and Brigadier Alan Brown, second-in-command 10th Armoured Division.

3. The Prime Minister, Mustapha Ben Halim, entertained the party to lunch, which was again formal. Afterwards I took Mr. Dodds-Parker and Mr. Rae to see the Roman ruins at Sabratha, while Mr. Ramsden explored the differences between English and Libyan golf.

4. In the evening Mr. Peters, Head of Chancery, gave a cocktail party, at which Mr. Dodds-Parker met heads of most of the "friendly" diplomatic Missions, some senior Libyan officials, and a number of leading British subjects, both those in business and in the service of Libya. At this party he and Mr. Ramsden had interesting conversations with Mr. Pitt Hardacre, the senior Economic Adviser to the Libyan Government.

5. This party was followed by a dinner at my house, where the guests included the Prime Minister and Mrs. Ben Halim, the United States Ambassador and Mrs. Tappin, and the General Manager of the Libyan Public Development and Stabilisation Agency, and Lady Dean. After dinner the Prime Minister took Mr. Dodds-Parker aside and talked to him about Libya's economic difficulties. I understand that he said nothing new, but repeated what he said to you during your visit here last month.

6. On the morning of April 5 Mr. Dodds-Parker held a short Press conference, which was unfortunately only moderately attended. A copy of Mr. Dodds-Parker's statement, and of the questions and answers exchanged, is enclosed.<sup>(1)</sup> These are given in full in to-day's Arabic and Italian papers, and in general Mr. Dodds-Parker's visit received considerable favourable publicity.

7. The last item on the programme, before the party took off for Cairo at 11.30, was to have been a display at the Police Training College. Owing to some anti-French demonstrations in the town on the previous day, this display had to be cancelled. I therefore arranged for Mr. Dodds-Parker to visit the Provincial Agricultural Station at Sidi Mesri, which I thought he would find interesting. However, on receiving reports of further demonstrations in that area, I thought it better to cancel this visit also.

8. I feel sure that this visit, though short, was useful. Although almost nothing new emerged from it, Mr. Dodds-Parker and Mr. Ramsden must find Libya far more vivid in their minds than it was before. It was a great help to me personally to have first-hand discussions of this kind. Most important of all, such visits are

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.



greatly appreciated by the Libyan authorities, as a sign of the interest taken in their country. Mr. Dodds-Parker's party made an excellent impression in every way. The Libyans were, in particular, both astonished and delighted to find that Mr. Dodds-Parker spoke fluent Arabic. Future visitors will have a high standard to live up to.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Political Representative, Middle East Forces, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Benghazi.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.



JT 10316/2

No. 8

**EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN LIBYA, AND PROPOSALS FOR  
COUNTERING IT***Mr. Halford to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received April 27)*

(No. 66. Secret)

Tripoli,

Sir,

April 24, 1956.

As instructed in your despatch No. 45 (JT 10316/1) of March 15, 1956, I have the honour to submit the following observations on the extent of Egyptian influence in Libya, together with my recommendations for reducing or neutralising it.

2. Libya, like most other Arab countries, is naturally susceptible to Egyptian influence. The Eastern Province has its borders with Egypt; the country as a whole is predominantly Arab in stock; Arabic is the common language of all its inhabitants (other than the 40,000 Italians remaining in Tripolitania); a simple but fervent form of Islam is its religion. The Egyptians can play on all these stops at their will and never fail to excite a sympathetic response. Moreover, Libyans resemble other Arabs in being unable to resist the heady stimulants of Arab nationalism, the unity of the Arab world and the "mystique" of the Arabs peculiar role in Middle Eastern affairs. Jamal Abd el Nasser's claims to be the champion of Arab nationalism and unity and his self-identification with the Sultan Saladin may seem far-fetched to us, but they are readily acceptable to the Libyan. If the bimbashi does not overplay his hand and if he can register successes, particularly in the two fields which interest Arabs most, namely Israel and French North Africa, his prestige will be unshakeable. Even the Egyptian leader's espousal of neutralism in world politics touches a responsive chord in Libyan hearts, for Libyans do not wish to take sides either with the free world or with the Communist world; they wish to be sovereign and independent; in neutralism they fondly hope to find the most suitable soil for the national development.

3. Starting from this heavy, natural advantage, the Egyptians are leaving nothing to chance. It seems clear that, once freed from the menace of British interference in Egyptian affairs, the Revolutionary Council have chosen an independent policy of their own which to our understandable disappointment does not align Egyptian interests solidly with those of the free world. To carry out this independent policy, Egypt must attract as many Arab countries as possible into her camp. Libya figures comparatively high on the list. When I arrived in Libya nearly a year ago, I gained the impression that, while Egyptian influence existed by reason of the natural bonds which I have mentioned above, it was unco-ordinated, haphazard and often brashly inimical to its own ends. Returning to my post after leave, I was at once struck by the greater coherence and effectiveness of Egyptian penetration; I felt that Egyptian residents in this country had been mobilised and were acting under carefully framed instructions. While there may previously have been some Egyptians who were hostile to Colonel Nasser, there were none now. There are altogether 303 Egyptians in Cyrenaica and 382 in Tripolitania. There are also, I understand, a few in the Fezzan. The total for the whole country is probably about 700. This may not seem a large number, but it should be remembered that they occupy positions of considerable influence. The biggest group consists of teachers, both secular and religious. Then come the doctors, engineers, lawyers, agriculturalists and business men. Although the Libyan authorities claim that they keep a careful watch on these individuals and permit no political activity on their part, it would be foolhardy not to expect that their influence in a greater or lesser degree should be exercised in favour of their home country. Text-books in the schools and administrative techniques are Egyptian in origin and Egypt must in the natural course of events be constantly quoted as the ideal of aspiring students and technicians. It was inevitable, for instance, that the Egyptian legal system should be adopted and, even though in practice it has not proved a success, its prestige remains high and Libyans will continue to look towards Egypt rather than to anyone else for guidance in the administration of justice. In the business world Egyptians are active, but there are fortunately various Egyptian financial restrictions in force



which hinder Egypt from achieving a dominating role in Libya's economy. As regards the Libyan army, eight officers have been trained in Egypt and 11 cadets are now there. A member of the British Military Mission has observed that the cadets returning from Egypt are strongly influenced by modern Egyptian politico-military ideas. Nevertheless, Egyptian influence in the army as a whole is surprisingly small. The Egyptian Government will undoubtedly seek to remedy this fault and it remains to be seen whether the Iraqi commander of the army will be able to withstand their machinations. It is already abundantly clear that the commander himself is the target of an Egyptian campaign of slander and denigration; some highly questionable methods are being used to force him to throw in his hand. Much the same situation arises in the federal and provincial police forces, where Egyptian influence is small and senior officers, particularly the British, are the objects of attack.

4. It is, however, in the sphere of cultural relations, Press and radio that the Egyptian effort has become most noticeable. The last few months have seen the opening of Egyptian cultural centres in Tripoli and Benghazi. The reading rooms are well-appointed and lavishly supplied with Egyptian newspapers, periodicals, journals and books. The natural advantages of a common language, a common religion and a common culture are being exploited to the full. Regular bulletins with an Egyptian slant are published and widely distributed. The Egyptian clubs, both in Benghazi and Tripoli, make little pretence of being social or cultural meeting places. They are principally used as forums for visiting Egyptian notabilities. Virtually the only Arabic newspapers which circulate in Libya other than Libyan ones are Egyptian. Of the Libyan newspapers, *Tarabulus el Gharb* in Tripoli, tries to be all things to all men, *Al Zaman* in Benghazi can only be described as an organ of the Egyptian Press, and *Barqa al Jadida*, the Cyrenaican Government paper, is the only one of independent Libyan views. "Egyptian Front" organisations such as the Graduates' Conference are one of the principal ways through which the Egyptians spread their propaganda. A delegation from the Graduates' Conference led by a former member of the Egyptian Revolutionary Council recently came to Cyrenaica and in the guise of an Arab association rather than an Egyptian one achieved some insidious success. The most powerful weapon in the Egyptian armoury is, of course, the radio. The high technical level of Egyptian broadcasting would make Egyptian stations serious rivals anywhere. In Libya they are practically the only outside stations that can be heard.

5. It is more difficult to assess the extent of Egyptian influence in palace and governmental circles. King Idris spent many years of exile in Egypt and, though his relations with Egyptians are always correct, they could not be said to be cordial. Queen Fatima who has great influence on him is outspokenly hostile to all things Egyptian. Queen Aliya may be assumed to be more sympathetic to the country of her birth, but she has so far had little opportunity to exercise any influence whatever on her consort. As regards those in constant attendance on the King, the balance of feeling would seem to be in the Egyptian interest, but it is doubtful whether even Buseiri Shelhi, who seems to have taken his father, Ibrahim's, place in the King's affectionate regard would dare to attempt at this stage to advise the King towards more active courses of co-operation with Egypt. The royal entourage is unquestionably riddled with spies and Egyptian agents. The King himself is gratifyingly pro-British to his British visitors, but, if this saintly man has one weakness, it is his love of gold—and it is well to remember that he has now acquired much property in Egypt. In short the Royal Household is as full of intrigues and mysteries as the court of any Sultan.

6. The position in governmental circles is equally confused. The members of the Cyrenaican Provincial Government are solidly hostile to Egypt. They are tribesmen; many of them were exiles in Egypt and were not well treated there; they are devoted to the person of the King; they live, moreover, next door to Egypt and are not unreasonably suspicious of her land hunger. The Tripolitanian Provincial Government are very different. More easy-going in temperament and more liberally endowed with the good things of office, they are more tolerant of "foreign" influence, whether it be Italian, British, American or Egyptian. Their voices will be for the highest bidder. Moreover, Egypt is a 1,000 miles away. The Federal Government are more complex. Composed of representatives of the whole country, the Cabinet cannot be an easy team to manage and I suspect that the secret of Mustafa bin Halim's success is that he knows how to divide and rule



them. He is to all intents and purposes the Government. No business, however trivial or detailed, is accomplished without his personal intervention. In the last resort any assessment of the extent of Egyptian influence in Federal Government circles must be an assessment of Egyptian influence on Mustafa bin Halim.

7. There can be few foreign observers who now trust bin Halim, but no one, I suggest, would care to assert that he has sold himself finally and irrevocably. He is intelligent and energetic, absurdly vain and ambitious, an intriguer who has brought to high politics the bazaar technique of his native Derna. He sees himself as a great Arab leader and for that reason must associate himself more or less openly with Jamal Abd el Nasser's militant pan-Arabism. My own guess is that he has not yet finally resolved where his destiny lies. Egypt fascinates him, but the West provides the subsidies. If the West can hold the position in the Middle East, bin Halim may yet grow up into a venerable elder statesman with whom we can confidently do business. If, on the other hand, the Revolutionary Council succeed in their schemes, we must expect the Libyan Prime Minister to transfer all his allegiance to Egypt. In any event, the considerable personal fortune he has amassed while in office awaits him there.

8. To suggest measures to counteract or neutralise Egyptian influence in Libya seems a hopeless task in the face of such an array of difficulties. Nevertheless until such time as we can come to an agreement with Egypt (in which event many of our problems in Libya will evaporate), there is no reason why we should not do a great deal more to thwart Egyptian malevolence in the immediate future. My recommendations in this respect fall into three main categories:

- (i) immediate and direct practical action;
- (ii) indirect measures specifically aimed at Egypt; and
- (iii) long-term intervention in Libyan affairs.

9. You are already familiar, Sir, with some of the proposals which have been made for strengthening British influence in this country. The founding of an English school on the model of Victoria College, the opening of British institutes in Tripoli and Benghazi, the introduction of more English professors into the Libyan university at Benghazi, the wider use of scholarships, bursaries and educational grants for training students, technicians and, above all, administrators, may seem costly investments, but they promise quicker and more solid returns than would at first sight seem probable. At the same time we must be ready, despite the inevitable advance of "libyanisation", to produce really good advisers and technical experts, to fill posts in the federal and provincial administrations. The salaries which the Libyan Government offer for such appointments are often too low to attract the best men. Hence we should not scruple to follow the Egyptian example and subsidise our candidates, whenever necessary. In the field of publicity, we should consider the possibility of starting an Arabic newspaper which would be ostensibly Libyan owned and Libyan run. We should also, before it is too late, develop the Arabic broadcasting services both in Tripoli and Benghazi. More attractive programmes broadcast on more powerful transmitters and at peak listening hours are the only answer to the Egyptian radio and the "Voice of the Arabs". Libyans naturally prefer their own newspapers and radio to foreign products, but so long as they are without such facilities, they will inevitably turn to Egypt as the nearest and most generous supplier. It is regrettable that in Benghazi the British-controlled Arabic transmissions have to close down for lack of equipment just before 7 p.m., the beginning of the peak listening period. It is then that Cairo radio comes into its own.

10. The recommendations in this first category spring solely from the need to present the British case on its merits; they are no more than a plea for an intensification of the policy we have hitherto tried to carry out with insufficient means and material. They do not envisage any measures actively directed against Egyptian influence as such. For the reasons set out in paragraph 2 above, I do not believe that any non-Arab, non-Muslim Power can profitably enter the lists against Egypt. But this is not to say that we should passively acquiesce in Egypt's arrogant posturing. We are fortunately not without friends in the Arab world and on them should rest the burden of refuting Egyptian claims. The Iraqis in Libya, notably the Iraqi Minister and the commander of the Libyan army, are well aware of the need for counter-measures. Unfortunately the Baghdad Government seem less impressed. There is, for instance, considerable interest



among Libyans in the Baghdad Pact. It would be politically unwise for Her Majesty's Government to do more than report factually on its achievements, but more than that is needed to counteract the streams of abuse which pour out from Cairo both by the written and the spoken word. Only the Iraqis, and to a lesser degree the Turks and the Pakistanis, can fill this gap. At the moment, they have little material and no means of presenting it quickly to the Libyan public. Again, though I am no expert in Egyptian affairs, I believe there are many aspects of Egypt's attitude towards Soviet Communism and, more especially, Islam which, if ably exploited by fellow-Arabs and for Muslims, would provide some painful shocks to the simply sincere Libyans. It would be too much to hope to align the Libyans with the Iraqis or our friends in Jordan and the Persian Gulf but at least they should be given the opportunity to hear the other side and judge for themselves.

11. The recommendations I would offer in my third category are in the long term the ultimate objective to which all interim measures should tend—the sound development of Libya as a viable country and as a stable political unit. The first aspect of this development is confessedly our responsibility. The second may be synonymous with the removal of Egyptian political influences. So long as there exists in Libya a proliferation of technical missions, reconstruction committees and development projects with large ill-co-ordinated headquarters staffs, we run the risk of achieving nothing but distrust and frustration. This is not the place to discuss the shortcomings of the many organisations intent on developing Libya; I must simply assert that much confusion abounds and offers fertile ground for Egyptian misrepresentation when the time comes for Egypt to take the initiative in the economic field (doubtless with Soviet prompting and support). Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government must between them and without further delay evolve a consistent and workable policy for the development of the country. Both Governments enjoy a great fund of good will here, but, if they are to make their position unassailable, they must work hard for it—and together.

12. The political aspect is linked closely with the economic, but there are certain features which call for special comment, particularly in the context of Egyptian influence. British and American support of the bin Halim régime offers only a precarious guarantee of future loyalty, while at the same time it alienates those Libyans, especially in Cyrenaica, who may be safely counted as friends. The experiment of creating the United Kingdom of Libya may well prove to have been a total failure when the present King dies, if the question of the succession to the throne has not been justly settled and bin Halim's Administration continues along its present dubious course of eliminating the Sanussi family. Disruption of the kingdom, an inevitable consequence of proclaiming a republic, could only be to Egypt's advantage. Whether to trust bin Halim in the hope that world conditions will improve to the point where he clearly sees that his profit lies with us or whether to work now for his replacement by someone we can trust in the time of crisis are grave decisions to have to make. But grave as they are, they must be faced. If we take the right decision, in my humble submission the second of these course, all the other good things will be added unto us.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to Cairo, Baghdad, Ankara, Washington, Political Resident, Persian Gulf, Benghazi and to the Political Office, Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

A. S. HALFORD.



JT 1053/81

No. 9

## RESULTS OF LIBYAN PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

*Mr. A. S. Halford to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received July 13)*

(No. 99. Confidential)

*Libya,*Sir, *July 9, 1956.*

I have the honour to report that the Libyan Prime Minister returned to Tripoli from his talks in London, Paris and Rome on the 2nd of July and was given a popular reception such, I am assured, as has not been seen here for some time. These demonstrations can, of course, hardly be described as spontaneous. The stationing of police on foot every 10 yards in the built-up areas and mounted police every 100 yards in the country for the whole of the seventeen miles from the airport to the capital has the effect of drawing the idle curious to the roadside, but at strategic points the assembled groups of mounted tribesmen, orphans, school-children and students from the Arts and Crafts School, each with their own form of music, showed every sign of organised fervour. All members of the Federal Government, the Provincial Administration, the Senate and the House of Representatives, together with local notables, drove out to the airport to greet the Prime Minister on the tarmac. Apart from myself, the Italian Ambassador and the Iraqi Minister were the only representatives of the diplomatic body present. On arrival, Mustafa Bey inspected a guard of honour provided by the Libyan Army and then exchanged a few words of greeting with all those present. When I congratulated him on the success of his visit to London, he said, with characteristic, if somewhat disingenuous charm, "We felt a sympathy for our country in London which was so real that you could touch it." The Prime Minister was then, theoretically, interviewed by the correspondent of the Government-owned *Tarablus el Gharb* and made the three declarations which I have reported in my telegram No. 205 Aside of the 3rd of July. I understand from the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that Mustafa Bey had agreed with you in London to issue some form of *démenti* of the malicious Cairo reports to the effect that the Libyan Government had received an offer of Czech arms and that Egyptians were henceforth to train the Libyan Army. Mustafa Bey chose this

occasion to refute these rumours categorically and, for good measure, threw in a highly complimentary reference to the sympathetic understanding with which he and his delegation had been received in London and an expression of his intense satisfaction at the results of the visit.

2. During the week between the conclusion of the London talks and the Prime Minister's return there had been comparatively little comment in the local press on the results of the negotiations. The "independent" *Al Ra'id* on the 30th of June gave the heads of agreement substantially in correct detail, but admitted that it had been unable to discover the amount of the increased financial aid which Libya was to receive. The English-language *Sunday Ghibli* was better informed on the 1st of July, doubtless as a result of preferential indiscretion on the part of one or other of the Prime Minister's advisers, and was able to announce that Libya would receive another £1 million by the end of the next financial year. The official *Tarablus el Gharb* preferred to take no chances and said nothing.

3. The Prime Minister's return at once set the machinery of publicity in motion. The *Tarablus* gave banner headlines to the "interview" at the airport and the key was struck for a general chorus of self-congratulation, not unmingled with warm references to Anglo-Libyan friendship. On the 3rd of July, the Prime Minister gave a press conference, the main points of which I have reported in my telegrams Nos. 207 and 206 Aside of the 4th of July. On this occasion, the Prime Minister gave no details of the forthcoming financial aid and declared that the equipping and training of the Libyan Army was to be the subject of recommendations by a joint committee of technical experts. Under some pressure from the journalists, he admitted that the size of the Libyan Army might some day reach the 10,000 mark and, although this admission has generally been taken to mean that Her Majesty's Government have promised to train and equip an army of 10,000 men, I consider that the Prime Minister himself can be exonerated from any blame in this regard. Mustafa Bey



also told the journalists that he had left the French leaders in no doubt about Libya's attitude towards the Algerian question and declared that he had been able to make good progress in Rome towards the settlement of Italo-Libyan problems.

4. In the evening of the same day, the Prime Minister made a statement in Parliament of which I have the honour to enclose a translation.<sup>(1)</sup> His words were listened to with great respect, but inevitably the *enfant terrible* of the Libyan Parliament, Abdul Aziz Zigallai (Libyan Personalities 1955 No. 218) rose to the assault. He claimed that he would rather see Libya without an army, poor and disregarded, than have her dependent on foreigners for help. The Libyan purse was already overburdened with development projects. He asked what need Libya had for armed forces, situated as she was among friendly Arab States. The British who supported French policies in North Africa were not doing this "for the colour of Libyan eyes," but to found a new Arab Legion, impose a new Glubb and isolate Libya from the rest of the Arab world. The Prime Minister, with every appearance of confidence, retorted that it would certainly be cheaper to do without an army, but he had been under the impression that an army was what the honourable members wanted and that was what he had been negotiating to obtain. Even when living among friends he preferred to have some strength from which to play. The comparison with Jordan was entirely irrelevant. Practically every army in the Arab world had been trained and equipped by foreigners—the Iraqis, the Jordanians, the Sudanese—and, looking straight at the Egyptian observers in the diplomatic gallery, he added that some were even now being trained in places like Czechoslovakia. The debate was an undoubted triumph for the Prime Minister. There were not lacking voices wishing to record the debt of gratitude which all Libyans must feel towards Great Britain. The Prime Minister repeated his statement to the Senate on the 7th of July and won unanimous approval from that body.

5. From my conversations with members of the delegation and other Government officials, I judge that the London visit has been voted an immense success. It was, of course, inevitable that the Prime Minister should return in triumph, magnifying any small achievements into resounding

victories, but, even after making all allowances for such political manoeuvring, I believe that there remains a solid capital of genuine satisfaction and pleasure. The Prime Minister thinks that he has achieved more than he dared hope and he was delighted with the personal courtesies which were shown to him. I can readily understand that, in contrast to the passionate posturings of Colonel Nasser, the atmosphere of a conference in the Foreign Office must be an agreeable experience. He has told me that even the dreaded figure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer turned out to be the embodiment of courteous understanding. He has undoubtedly been impressed and I have noticed, with some amusement, that he now talks, not of the "British Government," but familiarly of "H.M.G."

6. It is still too early to assess the true reaction throughout the country. Following the Prime Minister's lead, the local press, Arabic, Italian and English, has descanted on the delegation's achievement and the value of the British alliance. (The *Sunday Ghibli* of the 8th of July claims that all the initiatives came from the British side and Mustafa Bey had to ask for nothing "cap in hand.") In general the Tripolitarians seem well pleased and there were cheers and hand-clapping for the embassy car in the cortège accompanying the Prime Minister back from the airport on the 2nd of July. Friendly diplomatic missions have been loud in their praises of this British move, the Spanish Minister going so far as to congratulate me on this British "victory over the Communist Egyptians." The reaction in Cyrenaica appears to be less clear. The announcement of the delegation's return in the official *Barqa el Jadida* was hidden away in a corner, pride of place being given to photographs and articles describing the departure of the Provincial Governor on the pilgrimage to Mecca. In a subsequent issue, such details as have been published of the results of the London talks were factually reported, with the comment that acceptance of British help must not mean acceptance of British policies in the Arab world. Behind all this there are not lacking signs of the operation of the traditional Tripolitanian-Cyrenaican see-saw. Tripolitania's triumphs are Cyrenaica's defeats. The Provincial Governor and the Commandant of the Cyrenaican Defence Force have already let it be known in strict confidence to the

(1) Not printed.



Acting Consul-General that, if the Libyan Army is to be increased and strengthened, the Cyrenaican Defence Force must not be allowed to lag behind. We must seriously ponder the implications of all this, for, however blue the Libyan skies may seem now, if a crisis arises and above all if recourse is had to the "bloody arbitrament of war" it is on Cyrenaican rather than on Tripolitanian arms and bravery that we must rely, in the future as in the past.

7. In the coming weeks we shall see more clearly the true effects of the London talks. There is bound to be a short honeymoon in Anglo-Libyan relations, but it is always well to remember that such spells of bliss are apt to be short-lived in polygamous countries. Mustafa Bey at present shows every sign of sincere attachment to the British point of view. He will probably subject the Americans to some carping criticism, but our colleagues in the United States Embassy and we have already laid our plans to carry on the excellent work done in London to demonstrate the intimate solidarity of the Anglo-American front. Somewhat to my surprise, Mustafa Bey tells me that he does not contemplate an early visit to Egypt. (I had thought that he would almost immediately leave for Alexandria to fetch home his wife who has been there for family reasons for nearly a month, but she returned independently last Friday to Tobruk.) Nevertheless, as the London agreement is translated into action, particularly in the context of the Libyan Army, we must expect momentary waverings in allegiance, the more so if practical problems delay the fruition of Libya's impatient hopes. There can be no doubt that the build-up of the Libyan Army dominates all the Government's thinking. The Prime Minister tells me that the King, to whom he reported last week, expressed himself delighted with the results of the visit and there and then offered his palace at Lethe, near Benghazi, as the seat of the new Libyan Military Academy. Mustafa Bey declares that he wishes this institution to be started at once, complete with British resident instructors, and that he will not permit another Libyan cadet to study abroad. This decision has no doubt in large part been provoked by the behaviour of the Libyan officers who represented their country at the Egyptian Republic Day celebrations in Cairo and virtually mutinied against the Iraqi Commander-in-Chief on their return, but it also reflects the King's own heightened anti-Egyptian bias as expressed in recent talks to the United

States and Turkish Ambassadors. I have not been able to discover how the Prime Minister proposes to finance this expansion of the army. He sees it as an increased recurring item of expenditure and proposes to keep it separate from any consideration of development problems. He places great confidence in the early arrival of a British technical team who, in collaboration with Libyan military and financial experts, will rapidly evolve a practical plan for the realisation of his ambitions.

8. These are matters for earnest thought in the weeks to come. For the moment I am happy to be able to report that the danger to which I alluded in paragraph 4 of my despatch No. 79 (1041/56) of the 29th of May, namely, that more harm than good might result from the London visit if the Prime Minister were to return with his pockets demonstrably empty, has been most skilfully avoided and that Libyan public opinion, such as it is, has been gratifyingly impressed by the sincerity and generosity of Britain's friendship. One pleasant feature, and I believe that it is genuinely shared by all, is that little Libya's leaders have been honoured and treated as equals by Britain's leaders. The Permanent Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs remarked to me rather wistfully that it was three years since there had been a meeting "at the top." As a last comment, I venture to offer the suggestion that there should be such meetings at regular intervals which, even if they do not achieve spectacular concrete results, give substance to, and remind the public of the existence of, the Anglo-Libyan Alliance. I am only too conscious of the calls on your time, sir, and the Libyan Prime Minister, himself, has few moments of leisure, but another short meeting here in the winter or early spring could only result in better understanding and firmer friendship. Although for the moment at least I prefer to nurse my suspicions of Mustafa Bey's ultimate objectives, I must admit that in the ordinary course of events he is much exposed to pressure by hostile Arab leaders and that he cannot be entirely blamed for disregarding our views, if we neglect to indoctrinate him regularly at the highest level.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Cairo and Washington, to the Political Office, Middle East Land Forces and to Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Benghazi.

I have, &c.

A. S. HALFORD.



JT 1053/108 G

No. 10

**RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF  
STATE AND Mr. DULLES ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1956, IN  
NEW YORK**

**Libya**

*The Secretary of State* said that we had agreed not only to subsidize the Libyan budget and continue our other aid, but also to pay for an increase of the Libyan Army up to about 5,000. But we could not do everything. The Libyans were now asking for an Air Force and a Navy. The United States was also making a substantial contribution to the Libyan economy, but he wondered whether the establishment of the Libyan Air Force could not be undertaken by the United States.

*Mr. Dulles* said that the United States experts did not much like the idea of a Libyan Air Force. It was imperative that they should not be able to overfly Wheelus Field, which was an important nuclear strategic base. *The Secretary of State* said he thought the Libyans only needed a few aircraft, perhaps trainers. *Mr. Dulles* said that they might agree to begin this way; but their appetite would grow. However, he agreed to look again into the question of United States aid for the Libyan Air Force.

*The Secretary of State* said we must also consider how far Libya was really of use to us and how much our subsidies should amount to. In answer to *Mr. Dulles'* question about where Ben Halim stood, the Secretary of State said that Ben Halim was fat enough to stand on both sides at once.

Subsequently *Mr. Douglas MacArthur II* discussed with one of the Secretary of State's advisers the information given to the British Government by Ben Halim, that the Egyptians had offered Libya a squadron of aircraft and offered to provide the pilots and navigators for it until the Libyans could fly themselves. This would clearly enable the Egyptians to overfly Wheelus Field and other installations, with serious results. It was therefore important to ensure that the Libyans continued to turn the Egyptian offer down.



JE 1094/2

No. 11

**REQUEST BY LIBYAN PRIME MINISTER FOR ASSURANCE THAT  
LIBYAN BASES WOULD NOT BE USED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM  
AGAINST EGYPT**

(1)

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received October 31)*

(No. 389. Confidential)  
(Telegraphic)

*Tripoli,  
October 31, 1956.*

My telegram No. 384: Suez.

Libyan Prime Minister summoned me immediately on my return tonight. In the course of long complaint about Anglo-French attack on Egypt he asked for written assurance that we would not violate the Anglo-Libyan Treaty by use of Libyan bases against Egypt. I said that my talks in London to-day had convinced me that there had been no change of heart in London but that I could not give [group undecipherable? on the spot] written assurance without specific authority. He urged me to telegraph for authority. In order to maintain internal security he intended to issue public proclamation but unless he could quote from our declaration he would hardly be able to control the situation.

2. I earnestly request that I may be authorised to give the required statement in as categorical terms as possible and if possible by noon G.M.T., November 1. Very strong feelings have been aroused and nothing less than the required assurance can have any effect. I will telegraph further account of interview during which the Prime Minister and also newly-appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs criticised British policy in strongest terms.

JE 1094/2

(2)

*Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Mr. Graham (Tripoli)*

(No. 460)  
(Telegraphic)

*Foreign Office,  
November 1, 1956.*

Your telegram No. 389: Suez.

You may inform the Libyan Government in writing categorically that Her Majesty's Government do not intend to attack Egypt from bases in Libya and that they will fully respect the Anglo-Libyan Treaty.



JT 1012/4

No. 12

## CHANGES IN THE LIBYAN CABINET

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 9)*(No. 155. Confidential)  
Sir,Tripoli,  
November 3, 1956.

With reference to my telegram No. 386 of October 31 and to my despatch No. 47 of March 27 I have the honour to report that a number of changes in the Federal Government were announced on October 31, 1956. It had been known for some time that these were to be expected.

## 2. The new Council of Ministers is as follows:—

Mustapha Ben Halim (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 82), Prime Minister.  
 Ali Sahli (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 170), Foreign Minister.  
 Salam Kadi (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 101), Communications.  
 Mahammad Ben Uthman (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 213), Health.  
 Muhiyiddin Fikini (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 68), Justice.  
 Ismail Ben Lamin (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 117), Finance.  
 Muftah Aragib (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 20), Minister of State.  
 Taher Bakir (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 34), Education.  
 Muhammad Abu Dajaja (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 56), National Economy.  
 Abdul Qadir al Alam (Libyan Personalities, 1955, No. 13), Defence.

3. The principal changes are that Ben Halim gives up his concurrent post of Foreign Minister to Ali Sahli, the former Minister of Justice. The new Minister of Justice is Muhiyadin Fikini, formerly Minister of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Taher Bakir replaces Abdul Rahman Qalhud as Minister of Education, and Abdul Qadir al Alam replaces Ali Jauda as Minister of National Defence.

4. Ben Halim told me some days ago that he was about to hand over Foreign Affairs to Ali Sahli, in order to devote himself more to other matters, including economic problems. Now that Libya had signed an agreement with Italy, following the treaty with Britain and the agreements with America and France, he considered that a suitable time had come for him to lay down the double burden. Personally, I am sorry that he has done so for two reasons. In the first place, there is great advantage in dealing direct with the Prime Minister, who can (as far as any one man can) settle things on his own authority. A Foreign Minister who is not also Prime Minister is, in Libya, liable to be little more than a mouthpiece or post office. Secondly, I have always found Ben Halim personally a good man to deal with. I should not care to say that he is honest, but he is exceptionally intelligent, with a great grasp of detail and a remarkable memory. One never has to explain anything to him twice. He is also commendably succinct. Ali Sahli, on the other hand, is long-winded, with a half-baked lawyer's liking for logic-chopping. But he is a reasonable man, friendly, at least outwardly, to Britain, and I foresee no special difficulties from his appointment. There could have been many very much worse choices.

5. Of the other changes, the dismissal of Qalhud from the Ministry of Education is a triumph for the anti-Egyptian faction. Qalhud has been a prominent pro-Egyptian agitator, and has been at daggers drawn with the Wali of Tripolitania, Jamal al Din Bashagha, largely on that account. For some time it was a moot point which of them would get the upper hand. That the Wali has won may well be the result of the King's personal intervention. The new Minister of Education has had previous experience as Nazir of Education in the Tripolitanian Provincial Government.

6. The change in the Ministry of National Defence is less welcome as Ali Jauda has shown himself friendly to Britain, and has worked well with the head of the British Military Mission. It is difficult to forecast how al Alam will turn out. He is intelligent, and outwardly pro-British, and has the advantage over his predecessor of speaking excellent English. But his previous record is somewhat equivocal.



SECRET

29

7. The new Minister of National Economy is Muhammad Abu Dajaja, who was at one time a Nazir of Agriculture in Cyrenaica. He is well disposed towards Britain, and should be an asset in the Cabinet.

8. On the whole, I think the changes are an improvement. The new Council should be both stronger than the old and more likely to take a pro-British line.

9. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Benghazi.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.

SECRET

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SECRET

JT 1011/2

No. 13

**EXPULSION OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY ATTACHE***Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 7)*(No. 439. Secret)  
(Telegraphic)Tripoli,  
November 7, 1956.

My telegram No. 436 and your telegram No. 510.

Decision to expel the Egyptian Military Attaché was an act of great political courage on the part of the Libyan Government and shows that they had proof of intended misdeeds.

We know they had been considering some such move for some weeks and had previously warned the Egyptian Ambassador. The attempt to remove Greatorex at the same time was doubtless intended as a shock-absorber in the face of Egyptian indignation. If we can stand firm on this point our position will be greatly improved, but I am still awaiting the outcome of Libyan deliberations.

SECRET



JT 1053/120

No. 14

## REVISION OF THE ANGLO-LIBYAN TREATY

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 22)*

(No. 482. Confidential)  
(Telegraphic)

Tripoli,  
November 22, 1956.

## Revision of Anglo-Libyan Treaty.

After giving me some information about the Beirut conference (he had given a "lecture" about British position after which other States moderated their attitude), the Libyan Prime Minister said that though Libya valued British alliance and had no intention of breaking off the Treaty, he thought it should be brought into line with the changed conditions. In order to forestall the attacks that were certain when Parliament opened on November 26, he intended to say in the speech from the throne that Libya was approaching Britain with suggestions for revision. He would like, if possible, to say Britain had agreed in principle to the revision. I told him I would inform you of this, but made no promise of a favourable reply before November 26—if at all.

## 2. Principal revisions the Prime Minister has in mind are—

- (a) insertion of clause in the Treaty binding Britain not to use bases in Libya either for attack on any Arab State or in conflict with the Charter of United Nations,
- (b) removal of British troops from big towns, and
- (c) definite provision for phased expansion of Libyan Army. British force in Libya to be reduced as Libyan Army grew.

3. If we are prepared in principle to discuss revision of the Treaty it would be helpful if I could tell the Prime Minister so at once, but delay will not be seriously damaging. I am sure, however, that he intends to raise the matter shortly and we shall have to consider our long-term policy here.



JE 1027/15

No. 15

## REPERCUSSIONS IN LIBYA OF THE RECENT ANGLO-FRENCH OPERATIONS IN EGYPT

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 23)*

(No. 161. Secret)  
Sir,

*Tripoli,  
November 17, 1956.*

I have the honour to submit herewith a report on the repercussions in Libya of the recent Anglo-French operation in Egypt.

2. No sympathy was to be expected from Government or people here for the Anglo-French ultimatum, which followed an Israeli attack on Egypt and was unsupported by Libya's other Western patron, the United States. Libyan relations with Britain had already been complicated by the "nationalisation" of the Suez Canal, an action which the general public at least applauded. Egyptian—and Soviet—propaganda had been active: the Libyan Prime Minister had been disappointed by our failure to follow up promises made before the Suez crisis to help enlarge the Libyan armed forces; and relations with France, which had long been bad, had touched rock-bottom with the French arrest of the five Algerian Nationalist leaders on October 23.

3. Upon a country already irritated with Britain and furious with France burst the news of the Anglo-French ultimatum, unaccompanied by the official explanation from Her Majesty's Government which the Libyan Government considered their right under Article 2 of the Anglo-Libyan Treaty, and which the promise, in your telegram No. 447 of October 30 to maintain close contact with them in the spirit of the treaty, had probably led them to expect. On the morning of October 31, during my brief visit to London, the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs summoned members of my staff to express astonishment and indignation at the ultimatum, to seek an explanation of Her Majesty's Government's policy, and above all to make clear that British bases in Libya must not be used against Egypt.

4. Indignation at the Anglo-French action and demands for an instant cessation of hostilities were reiterated in the talk which I had with the Prime Minister immediately on my return from London the same day. He also demanded a written assurance from Her Majesty's Government that the bases would not be used. Meanwhile the Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered repeated pro-

tests against Anglo-French policy, and warnings against the use of the Libyan bases.

5. The prompt arrival of the categorical assurance, given in your telegram No. 460 of November 1, that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of attacking Egypt from Libyan bases and would fully respect the Anglo-Libyan Treaty, calmed the Prime Minister, who at once gave it to the press. He pursued his advantage with further demands for temporary restrictions on British freedom of action quite outside the scope of the treaty. Some of these, in view of the sympathy felt for Egypt by Libya, were not unreasonable. They were designed to minimise the evidence of British military and naval forces in Libya, and thus facilitate the task of the authorities in preventing any outburst of public feeling. Another demand, for the posting of Libyan observers in British bases to see that we kept our word, must have seemed in London a little insulting and was certainly made for publicity's sake. Fortunately this was not urgently pressed, as it might have been had hostilities in Egypt not ended so abruptly. Even the more reasonable demands, which imposed a virtual embargo on ships moving troops and military stores into and out of Libya, involved great difficulties and could not have been accepted for long. In the end the course of events made large-scale troop movements unnecessary, and the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs personally smoothed over trouble caused among the dock labour by the arrival of ships with military cargo which could not be diverted or dispensed with.

6. The cease-fire in Egypt during the night of November 6-7 must have reassured the Libyan Government and reduced the danger of public disturbance. But meanwhile another and separate threat had appeared, which gave foreigners and Libyans alike considerable anxiety. It had been known for some time that the Egyptian Military Attaché, Colonel Ismail Sadiq, had been planning sabotage and terrorism in Libya, particularly against British military establishments. This embassy was also believed to be a special target. His principal object was to prevent the despatch of



reinforcements from Libya to Egypt. Sure enough, on the night of November 2 there was a spectacular but not very damaging explosion in an oil store by the harbour. This was followed by a number of other explosions in Tripoli and a few in Cyrenaica. Potentially the most dangerous was a time-bomb which exploded in Barclay's Bank during business hours. Fortunately (like all the others) this cost no lives, but infuriated the Libyans, since the majority of the injured were Libyan and the building itself Libyan State property. I thereupon advised that British subjects with no urgent business here should leave. The army had already concentrated families in Tripolitania (but not Cyrenaica) into barracks, and has since evacuated all families from Tripoli itself to the United Kingdom.

7. The Libyan authorities had already taken stringent precautions after the first explosion; these were now intensified and must have imposed a great strain on the Libyan police and army, who had been fully deployed on special protection duties ever since a big anti-French demonstration on October 24. A curfew was imposed, and all demonstrations were strictly forbidden. Moreover, the evidence of Colonel Sadiq's activities, after repeated warnings to stop them, finally compelled the Libyan Government to action that in the circumstances must have been extremely difficult for them. They not only demanded Colonel Sadiq's recall, but publicised the fact and the reasons for it, though they emphasised that their complaint was purely against Colonel Sadiq as an individual, and implied no cooling in Libya's relations with Egypt. Colonel Sadiq finally left on November 13, after apparently losing control over his organisation and his nerves, and scattering broadsheets attacking the Libyan Prime Minister who has certainly connived at Egyptian infiltration into this country. But there is now reason to believe that the Libyan Government have decided to make a serious effort to reduce Egyptian influence: all foreign missions have been told to close their information and cultural centres, a measure which hits Egypt much the hardest. The Egyptian schoolmasters are also suspended. Following Colonel Sadiq's departure, there has been a lull in explosions, and Tripoli is gradually returning to normal.

8. This expulsion of Colonel Sadiq would give us unalloyed satisfaction, had not the Prime Minister felt obliged, or found it convenient, to balance an Egyptian with a

British victim, Mr. Greatorex, my Oriental Secretary. I fought this expulsion, with your support, as hard as I could without questioning Libyan sovereign rights, but in vain, and Mr. Greatorex leaves here shortly. He was first associated with the advance of Libya to independence in 1941, when he was attached to the Libyan Arab Force which fought with us against the Italians. Since then he has been the respected acquaintance of most prominent Libyans and the close friend and counsellor of many, including the King himself. His departure must reduce British influence in Libya, and this may well have been one of Mr. Ben Halim's long-term objectives; but the need, as the Libyan Government would see it, to balance a snub to Egypt with one to Britain was undoubtedly the immediate cause of the decision. I should like to take this occasion of recording my sense of Mr. Greatorex's invaluable services to British interests in Libya. He is irreplaceable, not only because his great gifts have gained him a unique position, but also because the conditions in which he acquired this position—the common struggle against the Italians and the period of British Administration in Libya—will never recur. In this, Mr. Greatorex's position here resembles the Anglo-Libyan Treaty, likewise the fruit of a sowing that cannot be repeated.

9. Apart from this unhappy episode, the attitude of the Libyan Government during the emergency, in spite of their fundamental and inevitable antipathy to Her Majesty's Government's policy, has been one of co-operation which, however dictated it may be by self interest, deserves recognition. Public security—a breakdown of which would have endangered our nationals—has been efficiently maintained; our military base has remained intact; and in various not overtly political matters, such as the evacuation of British civilians and the transit of diplomatic and consular staff from Egypt, the authorities have helped when they could have been positively or negatively unhelpful.

10. The impact of recent events on Anglo-Libyan relations and on public security has been less in Cyrenaica than in Tripolitania. On at least two recent mainly British occasions—Remembrance Day and the funeral of a British judge in Libyan service—the highest Cyrenaican authorities have wholeheartedly participated. The atmosphere in Cyrenaica appears to have been far less anti-British than it is here. This is no doubt due to a greater awareness in Cyrenaica of the danger of Egyptian expansionism; to a



greater sense of obligation to Britain than in Tripolitania, where Italian rule was always less hated, and where Italians are now less unpopular than Anglo-Saxons; and also to the presence in Tripolitania of the Federal Government, and a consequently greater interest here in international affairs.

11. I should like to record that the attitude of the United States Ambassador and his staff, in spite of our vetoing the United States resolution in the Security Council, has been most cordial. Neither I nor my staff have been made to feel any trace of resentment or even of headshaking. I have also kept in close touch with my excellent French colleague. The French decision to evacuate the Fezzan by November 30 removes a great potential danger.

12. Throughout this crisis my tactics have been to avoid any major incident, or series of minor incidents, which would make a return to the *status quo ante*, or something like it, impossible. This was why I argued so strongly against any intervention, except at the request of the local authorities, by the British army in Libyan affairs, even to forestall an apparently serious threat to public safety. Such a violation of Libyan sovereignty would never have been forgotten. Friction over minor incidents was inevitable, but thanks largely to the forbearance of the British military authorities it has been kept to a minimum, and nothing that has occurred locally should prevent the eventual restoration of cordial relations. Assuming that the maintenance of our bases, and the preservation of Libya as an ally against Soviet encroachment, are still the main-springs of our policy here, we may hope to succeed with the following provisos:—

(a) We emerge peacefully from the present, and do not become involved in another major clash with the Arab States.

(b) We manage to retain the full co-operation of the United States as regards Libyan affairs, and can be regarded as connected with her rather than with France as we are at present.

(c) We recognise that Libyan relations with us, whatever fine phrases may on occasion be used, are based on cupboard love and that our cupboard cannot be left bare. At the moment this means particularly help for expansion of Libyan armed forces.

(d) We give the Libyans no cause for regretting the Military Agreement by ourselves neglecting its provisions, or trying to introduce modifications other than in matters of mere detail. We must be particularly careful to keep to agreed dates for handing over control of property at present occupied by the army.

13. In a wider sense we should also, I think, pay greater attention to the Anglo-Libyan Treaty, as distinct from the Military Agreement. The Libyan authorities always draw a clear distinction between their relations with Britain and the United States. One is an ally, the other a friend; with the one they have a treaty, with the other a Base Agreement. Allies, they feel, no matter what the difference in their strength, should consult each other about matters of common interest. They do not always live up to this themselves. They notoriously failed to give us prior warning of their intention to establish diplomatic relations with Russia. They nevertheless resented our failure to keep them informed of our recent policy towards Egypt, and it would pay a useful dividend if we were to make the gesture of informing, even if possible consulting, them in matters of common interest. This will not be easy, and may often be impossible, but I submit that we should do it whenever appropriate, even if it is only a gesture. For Libya is changing fast. The elements on whose friendship we have hitherto relied, those who have personal memories of the years of war against Italy—the King, the present Libyan Ambassador in London, and other elder statesmen such as the two provincial governors appointed by the King—are gradually losing their influence. It was with men of this kind that we negotiated the Anglo-Libyan Treaty. It is with men of a different stamp that we now have to operate it. Ben Halim will not remain Prime Minister for ever, but his successor is unlikely to be more pro-British than he is. He might well be a nationalistic fanatic, who would only tolerate the treaty if it was clearly in Libya's material interest to do so. It is our task to make this not only true but obvious.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington and Benghazi and to the Political Officer, Middle East Forces, Nicosia.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.



JT 10317/32

No. 16

## WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH FORCES FROM THE FEZZAN

*Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received December 13)*

(No. 173. Confidential)  
Sir,

Tripoli,  
December 8, 1956.

With reference to Sir Gladwyn Jebb's telegram No. 431 Saving of November 23 I have the honour to report that a ceremony was held at Sebha on December 1 to mark the withdrawal of the French forces from the Fezzan.

2. The French flag was lowered from the fort at Sebha for the last time on the evening of November 30. Next morning the French Minister here flew to Sebha with the Libyan Prime Minister and other notables. Shortly before 11 o'clock the French Minister formally surrendered the citadel to the Prime Minister, and the Libyan flag was raised at 11 o'clock, to the sound of the Libyan national anthem. The French Minister informs me that the ceremony was conducted with dignity, and that the Libyan police took care to prevent any anti-French demonstrations that might have been organised by Egyptian agents. The last French troops left the remaining forts in the Fezzan, Ghadames, Ghat and Derg by December 5.

3. The newspaper *Al Ra'ed* carried an article on December 1 alleging that the French had done a great deal of damage in Sebha before withdrawing, including the destruction of the water and electric installations. According to the French Minister this is a wild exaggeration of the facts, which are that the commandant did remove from the fort such articles as baths and washbasins which appeared on his inventories as French Government property. He was no doubt within his rights in doing this, but the Minister considers he was unwise, and the French are prepared in principle to pay compensation for the damage done in removing such fittings.

4. During this last week great progress has been made in delimiting on maps the Libyan-Algerian frontier between Ghat and Ghadames. The suspected existence of oil in this area has made the question one of great importance, but it appears that an agreement has now been reached, based on the Franco-Italian Treaty of 1919. The French Minister considers that this Treaty was unduly favourable to the Italians, but is not dissatisfied with the present agreement. He admits that the Libyans have behaved "correctly" throughout the whole of this question. The actual marking of the frontier may take many months, but now that it has been clearly shown on a map he does not think that it should cause serious difficulty.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Washington, Algiers and Benghazi.

I have, &c.

W. G. GRAHAM.



JT 1053/128 G

No. 17

**RECORD OF A CONVERSATION WITH THE LIBYAN AMBASSADOR  
ON DECEMBER 18, 1956**

*Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Mr. Graham (Tripoli)*

(No. 160. Confidential)  
Sir,

*Foreign Office,  
December 18, 1956.*

The Libyan Ambassador called to see me this afternoon to bring personal messages for the Prime Minister and myself from the King of Libya. He wished us to know that it was his desire to maintain the traditional friendship with Britain.

The Ambassador said that he also had a message for me from the Libyan Prime Minister. There was no idea in his mind to change the period of the Anglo-Libyan Treaty. What he wanted to do was to bring it up to date and to give it some new form. He suggested that we should start negotiations as quickly as possible, beginning perhaps with a Working Party in Libya.

I said to the Ambassador that we were considering the future of the Anglo-Libyan Treaty but that I did not think that the problem of the future would be how to get the British out of Libya but rather how to keep them there. The fact that we had not been able to use military facilities in any way in connection with the Egyptian operations had made some people here feel that the Treaty was not of much value. My own view was that it was important. We should maintain the Treaty to help Libya to keep her independence both against the Soviet and against Egypt. It would, however, be appropriate to re-examine what facilities we would require in the future.

The Ambassador said that he thought that it was very important that the Treaty should be maintained. The King at the moment was taking a much stronger line and really governing the country through the Governors of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The Central Government was just a façade.

I asked the Ambassador about the Libyan Prime Minister. The Ambassador expressed his usual view of him and said that he thought his position was weaker now certainly than it had been a year ago. The King had taken him by surprise in announcing an heir. The Ambassador said it was important too that we should give help over the Libyan Army. If it had not been for the existence of the Libyan Army the King could not have acted as he had done.

I left it with the Ambassador that I would think the matter over and communicate with him again soon after Christmas.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Washington and Benghazi and also to the Head of the Political Office with Middle East Forces.

I am, &c.

SELWYN LLOYD.



## APPENDIX

### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JT 1902/1

No. 18

#### LIBYA: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

*Mr. Halford to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received June 13)*

(No. 87. Secret)

*Tripoli,*

Sir,

*June 11, 1956*

I have the honour to transmit herewith the annual report on the Heads of Foreign Missions accredited to the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya.

I have, &c.

A. S. HALFORD.

#### Enclosure

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

#### Egypt

\*Fiky, Major-General Ahmed Hassan al. Presented his Letters of Credence as first Egyptian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on 20th October, 1954. Born about 1911.

\*Major-General Fiky was previously Egyptian Military Attaché at Rome with the rank of colonel. Major-General Fiky owes his present position to the fact that he is a strong supporter of the C.R.E. He is distinguished-looking in a somewhat sinister way, and is undoubtedly both shrewd and intelligent. He has already succeeded in greatly increasing Egyptian influence in Libya. He is active in making personal contacts with the more important Libyan personalities, and in particular he has succeeded in establishing a close personal friendship with Ben Halim, the Libyan Prime Minister, over whom he now exercises considerable influence. Major-General Fiky has always shown himself correct and cordial in his relations with this Mission. Mrs. Fiky has a charming personality and is greatly liked by the ladies of the Libyan and foreign communities. Both Major-General and Mrs. Fiky speak good English, Italian and French. (Written in 1955.)

The marriage in June 1955 between King Idris and Queen Aliya was arranged partly by the Egyptian Ambassador, who may have hoped to make the King less anti-Egyptian by giving him an Egyptian wife. If so, he must have been disappointed. When the King left Queen Aliya in Tripoli only two weeks after their marriage, she lived a quiet life until January this year, when Mrs. Fiky started a series of diplomatic teas and dinners for her.

The Egyptian Ambassador is the only member of the Corps who takes any trouble to be more than formally polite to the Soviet Ambassador in public. At diplomatic parties they are always in apparently deep and cordial conversation, which the Prime Minister sooner or later joins.

#### France

Dumarçay, Jacques. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. Presented his Letters of Credence on 9th November, 1952.

\*M. Dumarçay is a most friendly and co-operative colleague and his sense of humour is a consolation in times of stress. He shows a degree of sympathy for the nationalistic aspirations of the Arab world which is unusual in a French official. Mme. Dumarçay shares her husband's views and virtues, with the additional advantage of speaking English, which he does not. (Written in 1952.)

In this difficult period of French relations with the Arab world, M. Dumarçay has, by his well-balanced and level-headed handling of his country's affairs in Libya, personally contributed much to the continuance of cordial relations. His advice is of great value to his friendly colleagues. He and his Legation are always very well informed about local political events.

#### Federal Republic of Germany

Seydel, Herr Hans. Appointed Chargé d'Affaires *en titre* on 2nd February, 1955.

\*Herr Seydel would appear to be mainly interested in developing Germany's commercial interests in Libya. He speaks good Arabic and professes to have a wide knowledge of the Arab world and its customs. Both Herr Seydel and his wife speak English, and are personally friendly and agreeable. They are keen on various outdoor sports, particularly riding. (Written in 1955.)

#### Greece

Miliaressis, Aristomenis. Chargé d'Affaires *en pied*.

M. Miliaressis arrived in Libya on 14th August, 1955. He is a fussy man approaching 50 and always has a worried look at parties as he pursues the Libyan Prime Minister to try to settle the many minor troubles which arise from Greek sponge-fishing in Libyan waters and from trading between the two countries. He is pro-British and is not, I think, personally sympathetic to the Greek cause in Cyprus. He is disgruntled that he has not been promoted to the rank of Minister. He speaks a little English and excellent French.

His wife was a Soviet citizen and it is rumoured that the Greek Foreign Office sent him here to ensure that he should not have any Soviet colleagues. This has been thwarted by the arrival of the large Soviet Mission with members of which Mme. Miliaressis has become friendly. Perhaps this may console her for the comparative lack of "night-life" in Tripoli of which she complains.

#### Iraq

Gailani, Abdul Munim. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. Presented his letters of Credence, 21st May, 1955.







CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JT 1012/1

No. 19

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN LIBYA

Mr. Graham to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received August 24)

(Confidential)

Tripoli,

Dear Library,

August 18, 1956.

We are forwarding a revised list of leading personalities in Libya for the year 1956. In attempting to bring about some consistency into the Arabic spelling certain names have been shuffled around or spelt differently, but in certain cases we have accepted local renderings which of course can be disputed.

We should be grateful for 12 copies of this list when it has been printed.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

Enclosure

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2. Saad al Abaidi.
3. Abdul Hamid Abbar.
4. Milud Abdullah.
5. Ali bin Muhammad Agab.
6. Mahdi Bin Ahmad.
7. Mustafa Ajaili.
8. Abdul Rahman Ajaili.
9. Bakku bu Ajaila.
10. Muhammad Abu Assad al Alam.
11. Tahir bin Muhammad al Alam.
12. Abdul Qadir al Allam.
13. Mustafa bin Amer.
14. Fadil Fawzi al Amir.
15. Abdul Razzaq al Amir.
16. Ali Nur-Al-Din Anaizi.
17. Shams al Din al Arabi.
18. Said al Arabi.
19. Muftah bin Ahmad Aragib.
20. Francisco Archetti.
21. Khalil al Aridha.
22. Munir al Arussi.
23. Tahir al Asbali.
24. Mustafa Omar al Asfar.
25. Abdullah Bil Aun.
26. Ahmad Aun.
27. Munir Awad Masud al Baba.
28. Mustafa Badi.
29. Tahir Abdul Qadir al Badawi.
30. Abdul Qadir al Badri.
31. Tahir Bakir.
32. Khalil Bannani.
33. Taufiq Nuri al Barqawi.

34. Amur al Baruni.
35. Sulaiman Abu Rabia al Baruni.
36. Jamal al Din Bashagha.
37. Mustafa Bayu.
38. Tahir al Biju.
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49. Abdul Hamid Daibani.
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54. Awni Dijani.
55. Abdul Rahman Duqduq.
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59. Kamal Farhat.
60. Mahmud Farhat.
61. Najmaddin Farhat.
62. Gihan Faurtia.
63. Muhiyadin Fikini.
64. Dr. Aurelio Finzi.
65. Hussain al Fiql.
66. Abdul Jawad Fraitas.
67. Muhammad Taufiq al Gariani.
68. Hussain Gharur.
69. Ahmad al Alam Ghirza.
70. Ramadan al Gritli.
71. Muhammad Ghirza.
72. Zacchina Habib.
73. Mahdi Bin Muhammad Hasiaji.
74. Mustafa Ahmad bin Halim.
75. Sanussi bin Hamaida.
76. Muhammad Kamal Hammali.
77. Bashir bin Hamuda bin Hamza.
78. Muhammad al Hunaish.
79. Muhammad Ibrahim al Hangari.
80. Ahmad al Hasairi.
81. Salim bin Hassan.
82. Ahmad al Fiqih Hassan.
83. Ali Fiqih Hassan.
84. Hustafa Sadiq Hassan.
85. Mahmud bu Hidma.
86. Abu Bakr al Ismirli.
87. Ali Salih Jauda, M.B.E.
88. Ali Assad Jirbi.
89. Sulaiman al Jirbi.
90. Fuad Kaabazi.
91. Salim al Kadi.
92. Ali Karamanli.
93. Tahir Karamanli.
94. Rajab bin Katu.
95. Khalifa Khalid.



96. Muhammad Khalil.
97. Ali Khirbish.
98. Salih Khirbish.
99. Fathi Mansur al Kikhia.
100. Ramadan al Kikhia.
101. Rashid Mansur al Kikhia.
102. Omar Mansur al Kikhia.
103. Ahmad Kizza.
104. Nasr al Kizza.
105. Abdul Majid Kubar.
106. Rassim Kubar.
107. Al Sunni al Lali.
108. Ismail bin Lamin.
109. Salim bin Lamin.
110. Awad Lanqi.
111. Yusif Lanqi.
112. Salim bin Ammar Lataif.
113. Kilani al Lataiwish.
114. Sanussi Lataiwish.
115. Salim Latrash.
116. Abdulla bin Maatugh.
117. Yasin al Mabri.
118. Muhammad Taufiq Mabruk.
119. Mahmud al Arabi al Magdud.
120. Bashir Mghairbi.
121. Ahmad Rafiq al Mahdawi.
122. Husain Abdul Malik.
123. Muhammad Mansuri.
124. Giacomo Marchino.
125. Yahya bin Massud.
126. Muhammad Mayyit.
127. Husain Yusuf bin Maziq.
128. Hadi Mishaigi.
129. Yusif Mishaigi.
130. Ali Missallati.
131. Hadi al Missallati.
132. Mahmud Missallati.
133. Mustafa Mizran.
134. Sharif Ali bin Muhammad.
135. Mansur bin Muhammad.
136. Ahmad Muhammad Mukhtar.
137. Mahmud bin Ahmad Muntassir.
138. Sadiq al Muntassir.
139. Salam Muntassir.
140. Bubakir bu Naamah.
141. Ali Bubakir Na'as.
142. Abdul Qalil Saif al Nasr.
143. Muhammad Saif al Nasr.
144. Muhammad Saif al Nasr.
145. Salim Saif al Nasr.
146. Omar Saif al Nasr.
147. Abdul Qadir Nazimi.
148. Wanis al Qadafi.
149. Mansur Qaddara.
150. Khalifa Abdul Qadir.
151. Ali Sidqi Abdul Qadir.
152. Abdul Rahman Qalhud.
153. Khalil Omar Qallal.
154. Mahmud bu Qatin.
155. Muhammad Qraishi.
156. Salih bin Rabha.
157. Muhammad bu Rahayim.
158. Ali Mukhtar bin Rajib.
159. Muhammad Rifaat.
160. Maraajah al Rukh.
161. Qadafi Saad.
162. Bashir al Saadawi.
163. Ali Sahli.
164. Sulaiman bin Said.
165. Ali bin Salam.
166. Nasr bin Salam.
167. Ali bin Salim.
168. Abdullah bin Abdul Samad.
169. Abdullah Abid al Sanussi.
170. Muhammad Safi al Din al Sanussi.
171. Muhammad Idris al Mahdi al Sanussi.
172. Sadiq al Rida al Sanussi.

173. Abul Qasim Ahmad Sharif al Sanussi.
174. Ibrahim bin Ahmad al Sharif al Sanussi.
175. Muhi-al-Din Ahmad Sharif al Sanussi.
176. Muhammad Sanussi al Saqisli.
177. Muhammad Salhin Sarqiwa.
178. Mustafa Sarraj.
179. Ali bin Shaaban.
180. Abraham bin Shaaban.
181. Busairi Shalhi.
182. Abdul Razzaq Shaqluf.
183. Muhammad Shlaid.
184. Muhammad Sharif.
185. Salim Sharmit.
186. Hamid Ibrahim al Shwaidi.
187. Mansur Abu Shdaiq.
188. Salim Shitta.
189. Abdulla al Sharif.
190. Tahir Ahmad Sharif.
191. Conte Comm. Ulderico Sottocasa.
192. Muhammad Rajab al Sukni.
193. Abdul Mutawal Sulaiman.
194. Ahmad al Sunni.
195. Mubarak Sussi.
196. Ahmad Swaihli.
197. Hussain Tahir.
198. Ali Tamir.
199. Bakir Traish.
200. Muhammad bin Uthman.
201. Omar Yaqub.
202. Busaif Yasin.
203. Khalifa bin Abdul Salam Zantani.
204. Sadiq bin Zaraa.
205. Abdul Assis Zigallai.
206. Fadil bin Zikri.
207. Sulaiman Zinni.

#### OBITUARY

Bubakr bu Sahmain.  
Muhammad Abul Qadir Braidom.

#### DELETIONS

Abu Bakr Ahmad.  
Mabruk bin Araibi.  
Tahu Azhari.  
Mustafa Aziz.  
Ali Mahdi Braish.  
Ali Gabrun.  
Anwar Sulaiman bin Gharsa.  
Faiz al Idrisi.  
Muhammad Ali Jalghum.  
Saad bu Jaralla.  
Mustafa Mumtassir.  
Abdulla Sahairi.  
Muhammad al Shaab.  
Nur al Din bin Salim.  
Mahmud bu Shraida.  
Hamuda bin Tahir.

#### ADDITIONS

Hussain Gharur.  
Rajab bin Katu.  
Ahmad Kizza.  
Salim bin Lamin.  
Abdul Qadir Nazimi.  
Busairi Shalhi.



**1. Hamid al Abaidi (Cyrenaican)**

Born Derna about 1915. Son of the late Ali Pasha al Abaidi. Attended local schools and then went to Egypt to study at the Al Azhar University. Joined the Libyan Arab Force in 1941 and entered Government service in 1945. Was Naib Mudir of Derna in 1945 and promoted as Mayor of Barce in 1947. From Barce he was again promoted to be Qaimaqam of Tobruk in 1949. Posted as Naib-Mutassarif to Kufra in November 1950 as a disciplinary measure after he had attempted to stir up trouble among the Abeidat Sheikhs—the tribe being, he considered, inadequately represented on the Cyrenaican delegation to the Libyan Constituent Assembly. He refused to accept this posting and resigned from the Cyrenaican Civil Service.

He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Derna constituency in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies on February 19, 1952. Early in 1953 he was reinstated in the Cyrenaican Civil Service and was appointed Naib-Mutassarif at Agedabia. Appointed Nazir of Health, Cyrenaica, on December 26, 1953. Appointed Nazir of Education, June 1954, having relinquished the appointment of Nazir of Health. Appointed Nazir of Public Works November 9, 1954, relinquishing his other appointment. Appointed Nazir of Education March 23, 1955.

Intelligent and capable but inclined to be indolent. Respected by rural elements on account of his family. A follower of the National Association in Derna.

**2. Saad al Abaidi (Cyrenaican)**

Born about 1897. Was formerly Mutassarif of the Jebel and resents the fact that that district has been divided into two, of which he retained the western half administered from Barce. Appointed Mutassarif of Benghazi June 1955.

He is very critical of the bin Halim régime and is anti-Egyptian. Would probably come out in support of Sayid Sadiq al Rida as against Mustafa bin Halim.

Strong supporter of Cyrenaican autonomy and friendship with Britain.

**3. Abdul Hamid Abbar (Cyrenaican)**

Senior Sheikh of the important Awagir Sdeidi tribe. Born 1885 at Soluk but now lives at Sidi Mahuis. Firm supporter of the Sanussi Amirate. One of the principal leaders of the resistance to the Italian Administration. Member of the Cyrenaican Delegation to Lake Success in April 1949. A member of the National Congress Committee until its disbandment in March 1950 and subsequently a member of the Amir's interim Advisory Council. Has agricultural interests in the El Abiar area and considerable tribal influence. An antagonist of Omar Mansur Pasha. Appointed Senator on March 18, 1952. During the trial of Sharif Muhi al Din, who murdered Ibrahim Shalhi, his car was searched and his revolver was confiscated. He is a close supporter of the Sharif branch of the Sanussi family and would oppose Mustafa bin Halim in favour of Sayid Sadiq al Rida on the King's death. Reappointed to the Senate in 1956.

**4. Milud Abdullah (Cyrenaican)**

Member of the Dorsa tribe. Sanussi loyalist. Has tribal support and considerable influence. Elected Deputy for Al Marj Constituency (Barce) on 19th February, 1952. Did not stand in the 1956 elections, as he failed to pass the literacy test.

**5. Ali bin Muhammad Agab (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli in 1912. Graduate of Al Azhar University in Cairo. Was Qadi of Agelat until

December 1947, when he was placed on leave without pay. August 1947, authorised to practise as an advocate in the British Military Court, Tripolitania. In May 1948 he was appointed Qadi of Zliten.

He was a staunch supporter of the Fiqih Hassan brothers until early 1949 when he lost faith in their political activities. In August 1950 he was reported to have joined the newly formed Libyan Socialist Party which then disseminated Communist propaganda.

**6. Mahdi Bin Ahmad (Fezzan)**

Appointed Nazir of Public Health, Education and Public Works for the Fezzan on 29th March, 1951. Relieved of his post as Nazir 28th January, 1954.

**7. Mustafa Ajaili (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli in 1911. Studied in Tripoli Secondary School and at Naples College for Oriental Studies. After the British occupation he was appointed Inspector of Police but was expelled for having fomented anti-Jewish feeling in November 1945.

February 1946, suspected of being interested in communism. Was a member of the Nationalist Party. After a visit to Italy in 1948 he was appointed teacher in a local Italian school. In the same year a bomb was thrown at his house by unknown people.

December 1948, nominated an Assessor of the Italian Courts. Left 1950 for Somaliland as a teacher of Arabic in the Italian Educational Department. Returned to Tripoli in 1951.

He is strongly pro-Italian and has been active in spreading pro-Italian propaganda.

**8. Abdul Rahman Ajaili (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli about 1920. Educated in Tripoli Secondary School. Knows Arabic, Italian, English and French. Accountant.

1946, appointed interpreter at the British Military Court of Tripoli. April 1949, elected executive member of the Youth Congress. Employed with the Pakistani delegation to the United Nations Council as interpreter in 1950.

Intelligent but not ambitious. Not politically-minded.

**9. Bakku bu Ajaila (Cyrenaican)**

Born 1898 in Battisti, where he still lives. Is Mustashar of the Hasa tribe. Bedouin, proud of his tribe and position. Poorly educated; comfortably off financially, inclined to use his position and influence for personal or tribal ends. A supporter of the Sanussis. Member of the Cyrenaican National Congress until its dissolution in 1950, and subsequently of the Amir's Interim Advisory Committee.

**10. Muhammad Abu Assad al Alam (Tripolitanian)**

Born Suk el Juma about 1880. Educated in Tripoli Quranic schools and at El Azhar in Cairo.

Mufti of Libya since 1921. This appointment was confirmed by Royal Decree on 3rd January, 1952.

Co-operated with the Italian Administration in Libya only in so far as he could do so without harming the interests of his countrymen. Member of the Chief Administrator's Arab Advisory Council formed in 1943. Member of the Arab Jewish Reconciliation Committee formed after disturbances in November 1945. He was one of the signatories of the Arab Advisory Council's resolution calling for a British trusteeship in 1946. Member of the United National Front which was formed the same year.

In 1947 he headed the Tripolitanian delegation to Cyrenaica to negotiate for a united Libya under the Senussi Amirate. In September 1948 he quarrelled with Salem Muntassir, the president of the United



National Front, over the latter's pro-Italian attitude and, with Bashir Saadawi, made the former resign.

In May 1949 he personally led the Tripoli demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan and was instrumental in preventing the outbreak of trouble.

In April 1950 he was invited to become a member of the Chief Administrator's Administrative Council but declined for reasons of old age and the possible conflict of the council's work with his religious duties.

In July 1950 he was appointed member of the United Nations Committee of twenty-one and in August was elected president of the committee. In October 1950 he was charged by members of this committee to select the twenty Tripolitanian members for the Libyan National Assembly.

Although originally he was a strong supporter of Bashir Saadawi, the exiled leader of the dissolved National Congress Party, he ceased to support him in 1950.

As the senior and oldest member of the Libyan National Assembly he was appointed chairman of the Assembly on 25th November, 1950.

Headed a delegation of three of the Libyan National Assembly to Cairo to urge member States of the Arab League to place the Libyan case in its proper perspective before the Political Committee of the Arab League. The delegation submitted its case to the Political Committee on 27th January, 1951, and returned from Cairo on 8th February. Since then he has taken no active part in local politics and leads a retired life.

He is shrewd, a true Moslem and patriot at heart. He is influential but has a considerable number of enemies. He has always shown a favourable attitude towards Britain.

#### 11. Tahir bin Muhammad al Alam (Fezzan)

Elected (unopposed) Deputy for Ghat (nomadic) Constituency in the Fezzan, 19th February, 1952. Appointed Minister of Health in the Saqisli Government on 17th February, 1954. Went out of office when the Government resigned on 8th April, 1954.

Did not stand in the 1956 elections.

#### 12. Abdul Qadir al Allam (Cyrenaican)

Born 1918 in Derna. Home still in Derna district though at present living in Barce. Member of the Abeidat Mzein tribe. Successful and varied career in the Italian Administration, rising from a clerk in an Italian Military Bakery (1936) to a Secretary for Arab Affairs (1940).

From 1942-44 he was detained in a prisoner-of-war camp in Egypt, because of previous close Italian connexions. In 1945 he was employed by the Public Information Officer. From 1946-48 he was Secretary of the Berka Destitutes Home. In 1948 he was appointed Mudir of Qubba, in 1949 Assistant Controller of Personnel and Establishments, B.A.; in February 1950 Director of Press Services, Cyrenaican Government; in March 1950 Minister of Agriculture and Forests.

In June 1951 he showed himself opposed to any possible domination of Libyan Government by Tripolitanian elements and attempted, without success, to gain support for a scheme to modify the plan for Libyan unity accordingly.

14th May, 1952, relieved of his post as Nazir of Agriculture. His dismissal indisposed the powerful Abeidat tribe. 1953-54 became restless and more and more critical of the Sanussi family as well as the Shalhi clique. Caused great excitement by opposing the Cyrenaican Government's candidate in the 1956 elections, but later withdrew under Government pressure.

In June 1956 he was received in audience by the King and presumably forgiven for his past indiscretions.

Of Bedouin origin, he is an intelligent and cultured Arab with influence among sections of the Abeidat tribe. His past record of co-operating with the Italians gained him an unenviable notoriety. A protégé of Omar Mansur Pasha he is ostensibly pro-British and loyal to the Sanussis, but it is probable that his political views are mainly governed by personal ambition. He speaks fluent English.

#### 13. Mustafa bin Amer (Cyrenaican)

Born 1907 in Benghazi. Belongs to the Gzir tribe. Studied for many years at the El Azhar University in Cairo. Returned to Benghazi in 1944 and was employed in the Education Department of the British Administration. Resigned in 1947 in order to run a newspaper, *El Watan*. Became president of the National Club in 1948, and took part in organising assistance to the Egyptian cause against Israel in 1948-49. Elected to the Assembly of Representatives in June 1950 as one of the members for Benghazi town.

Sentenced to three years' imprisonment for participating in an illegal demonstration on 8th July, 1951. This prevented his being a candidate in the 1952 general elections for the Federal Libyan Parliament. Released on 6th May, 1952, as a result of the remission of half of the sentence imposed on him in July 1951. His imprisonment has enhanced his prestige in the eyes of his followers in the former National Association.

He sent a telegram to the Libyan Prime Minister in London in June 1953 asking him not to bind the country by a treaty with Britain and conducted violent anti-treaty campaign.

Elected unopposed in a by-election in Benghazi, March 1955.

As a result of the law regulating the 1956 elections he was barred from nomination because of his having been in prison.

An ardent Libyan nationalist and something of a xenophobe.

#### 14. Fadil Fawzi al Amir (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli about 1916. One of the signatories to the petition of January 13, 1946, protesting against the Arab Advisory Council's resolution asking for a British Mandate. Has held the posts of Secretary of the Administrative Council, Secretary of the Federal Council of Ministers and Director of the Interior Tripolitania. On March 28, 1953, he was appointed Nazir of Interior in the Tripolitania Legislative Council. Dismissed from his post on June 16, 1953, following the dismissal of the Wali of Tripolitania, Fadil bin Zikri, who is a close friend of his. Appointed Liaison Officer with the Shell Agency in Tripolitania 1953. He was in violent opposition to Sadiq Muntassir, the Governor of Tripolitania, because the latter tried to destroy his chances of further employment. After attending a course abroad with the Shell company he was appointed Shell representative in Cyrenaica.

He is honest, straightforward and conscientious and has a strong sense of duty.

Decorations: Order of the Nile, 3rd Class.

#### 15. Abdul Razzaq al Amir (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli. Brother of Fadil Fawzi al Amir. Public writer. Elected candidate for the urban district of Tripoli Province on March 29, 1953, and appointed Secretary of the Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly. Following the dissolution of the Assembly in January 1954, he did not stand in the new elections.

#### 16. Nur-Al-Din Anaizi (Cyrenaican)

Born in Benghazi, 1904. Belongs to the Awagir-Baragtha tribe. Commenced his education at Turkish and Italian schools in Benghazi and then



spent a number of years studying in Italy, finally obtaining the degree of Doctor of Economic and Commercial Science in 1930, having specialised in colonial affairs. Returned to Benghazi in 1931 and entered the service of the Italian Government, being appointed in 1935 "Consigliere Amministratore" of the Awqaf. He held this post until 1941, when he retreated to Egypt with the British. Returned to Benghazi in 1944 and was appointed adviser to the Supplies Department of the British Military Administration. In 1945 he accepted a post in press section of the Arab League. He also became a member of the Libyan Liberation Committee, and was one of the delegation which this committee sent to Lake Success in the spring of 1949.

During the six years he spent with the Arab League he kept in close contact with Libyan officials and affairs, entertaining and arranging introductions for notables and politicians when they visited Cairo. In February 1951, shortly after he had an audience with the King at Benghazi, he resigned from his post with the Arab League, explaining publicly that his reason for doing so was the League's opposition to federation in Libya, and returned with his family to Benghazi. He was one of the Libyan representatives on the committee set up to deal with the question of Libyan currency.

On February 19, 1952, he was elected Deputy for Soluq.

He was selected as the first Libyan Minister to the Court of St. James but declined the appointment on the grounds that his tribe objected to his resigning his seat as a Deputy. The real reason was that he was involved in an incident at an official ceremony on Independence Day, 1952, which openly reflected on his judgment and regard for etiquette.

On September 20, 1953, he was appointed by the King, probably on the recommendation of Abdullah Abid al Sanussi, as Minister of Finance.

When Muntassir's resignation was accepted, he retained the same portfolio in both the Saqisli and the Halim Governments which followed. He accompanied the Prime Minister to America in July 1954 for the Libyan-American financial talks.

Appointed Governor of the Libyan Bank, April 26, 1955, and relinquished his appointment as Minister of Finance.

He is a brother-in-law of Ali Jirbi.

Decorations: Order of Independence, 1st Class.

#### 17. Shams al Din al Arabi (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli about 1920. Studied in Tripoli Secondary School and intended to complete his studies in Italy.

In 1939 elected to work in Italy as radio announcer and translator on the special transmission for Arab countries. 1945 returned to Tripoli and appointed sub-editor of *Tarablus al Gharb* newspaper. Appointed to the Libyan Ministry for Foreign Affairs when Libya acquired independence, 1951. 1953 appointed head of the Western Section and 1955 Director of Political Affairs in the same Ministry. Friendly towards the Western Powers, but not a strong character. Not very efficient at his job.

#### 18. Said al Arabi (Tripolitanian)

Member of the National Congress Party, now dissolved. Elected Deputy for Miami (Furnaj) Constituency in 19th February, 1952, elections. His political affiliations changed in favour of the Muntasser Government after the elections. Voted against the Anglo-Libyan Treaty.

Re-elected in 1956.

#### 19. Muftah bin Ahmad Aragib (Tripolitanian)

Born 10th March, 1905, at Sorman. 1943, appointed Mudir of Sorman. Resigned in May 1947.

Appointed member of the Disciplinary Commission for Arab Officials. March 1948, elected a member of the Chamber of Commerce Council. Member of the Tripoli Farmers' Association. March 1949, assessor of the Board of Trade.

Member of the National Congress Party. In 1951, like many others, he disagreed with Bashir Saadawi's policy and therefore became anti-Congress.

Member of the Advisory Council to the Provincial Commissioner, Tripoli. March 1951, appointed to the Libyan Constituent Assembly to fill a vacancy caused by another member's resignation. Elected Deputy for Sorman Constituency on 19th February, 1952.

Supported the Muntassir Government and was favourably disposed towards the Anglo-Libyan Treaty. Opposed the bin Halim Government, especially on the issue of ratification of the American-Libyan Agreement. His appointment as Minister of National Economy in March 1956 was presumably made to win him over.

Intelligent and energetic and has influence over the people of Sorman. Something of an intriguer but favourably disposed towards us.

#### 20. Francisco Archetti (Tripolitanian)

Italian lawyer. During World War II suspected of Left-wing tendencies. Close associate of Errico Cibelli. 1946, member of the Italian Consultative Committee. November 1951, reported to have taken over the direction of Communist activities in Tripolitania following the deportation of Dr. Cibelli. April 1952, reported to be meeting with other Communists in an endeavour to reorganise the Communist cell in Tripoli.

#### 21. Khalil al Arida (Cyrenaican)

Born about 1877. Has had virtually no education. Although he is one of the leading Sheikhs of the Barassa-Hussein tribe, he is not one of the most prominent; and has not had a distinguished career either with his tribe or with the Government. He has served at times as honorary member of the Ahliya Courts in Beida and was recently appointed one of the two vice-presidents of the Beida Municipal Council.

He is a Sanussi loyalist.

It is possible that his appointment to the Senate on 18th March, 1952, was made as a gesture to propitiate the Barassa-Hussain for the failure of their candidate to secure election to the Lower House of the Federal Parliament.

Not reappointed to the Senate in 1956.

#### 22. Munir al Arussi (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1895. Belongs to the Cabila Absciat. Leading notable and large landowner. Prior to the war was established in Tripoli as a cereal merchant. 1943, moved to Zavia and formed a society for the distribution of rationed commodities.

Elected Deputy for Zavia Hara Constituency on 19th February, 1952. Abstained from voting on the Anglo-Libyan Treaty in the Chamber of Deputies.

Re-elected in 1956 for the same constituency. He is not popular but his money wins him support.

#### 23. Tahir al Asbali (Cyrenaican)

Born about 1885. Lives in Barce. A leading Sheikh of the Orfa Salatna tribe. Imprisoned by the Italians, he later went into exile. Has been an honorary adviser on tribal affairs to the Administration since 1943.

Argumentative, but sound at heart and a supporter of the Sanussis.



**24. Mustafa Omar al Asfar (Cyrenaican)**

Born 1902 in Soluq. At present living in Agedabia, but normal place of residence is Soluq. A leading Sheikh of the important Awagir tribe, the largest tribe in Cyrenaica. Member of a family who combined a leading tribal position with an administrative record under the Turkish and Italian Governments.

He entered Government service in 1926 and was made Mudir in 1941. Served in this capacity in Maqrun, Ghemines and Giardina until 1949 when he was made Qaimaqam of Agedabia district. In April 1950 he became Naib-Mutassarif of Agedabia. In the spring of 1953 he was appointed Naib-Mutassarif of Tobruk but did not take up his appointment owing to ill-health. Appointed Mutassarif of Barce June 1954.

Highly esteemed by the Ibrahim and Mtewa sections of the Awagir. Has a reputation for treachery and double dealing.

**25. Abdullah Bil Aun (Cyrenaican)**

Born 1890 in Benghazi. Member of the Hasa Shabarka tribe. Spent three years at El Azhar University, Cairo. Is literate in Arabic and Italian.

Entered the service of the Italian Administration in 1920 and became Mudir of Marawa, Beda Littoria and Barce successively. In 1930 fell into disfavour and was exiled to Ustica, Sicily. Returned in 1934. Became Mudir of Tobruk and Bardia, a position he held until 1941.

Co-operated during first British occupation, later evacuated to Egypt and Sudan. Returned in 1944. Appointed Mutassarif of Derna district in October 1949, and in May 1950 was promoted to be Director of the Interior in succession to Sayed Abu el Qasim.

Following the death of a Bahai Medical Officer at Agedabia, Cyrenaica, he was suspended from duty in April 1954 and then dismissed from office by Royal decree in June 1954, for not having taken proper administrative action in the case.

Reinstated as Director of Education in January 1955.

Probably the most knowledgeable official in the territory on the tribes and their affairs. Good disciplinarian, loyal, influential and experienced. Co-operates well with British officials and holds reasonable and constructive views. Is a supporter of the Sanussis.

**26. Ahmad Aun (Tripolitanian)**

Brought up in Cairo and until 1947 was a civil servant in the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture. In 1947 arrived in Tripoli and became Secretary of Arab Affairs in the British Administration. In the same year on the death of his father he became vice-president of the United National Front.

In July 1950 he was appointed a member of the United Nations Committee of Twenty-one, which discredited him with Bashir Saadawi, who at that time was not in agreement with the committee's work. In October 1950 he was appointed as a National Congress representative for Sorman on the Libyan National Assembly, although not with the blessing of the party executive. He was appointed district officer, Zavia, in 1950. Transferred to Tripoli in January 1952 to the Department of the Interior and transferred to Nalut in April 1952 as district officer.

Transferred to Tarhuna early 1953. Transferred as District Commissioner to Zavia, 4th September, 1953. Appointed Provincial Commissioner, Garian, 1954.

Appointed Director of the Interior late 1955 and Nazir of Interior January 1956. Made President

of the Executive Council, May 31, 1956, and remained as Nazir of the Interior.

He is an efficient and well-balanced official and has always been well disposed towards the British.

**27. Munir Awad Masud al Baba (Cyrenaican)**

Born in Benghazi in 1919. Educated in the Kuttab school until the age of ten, then at the Italian and Arab Elementary School until the age of 16. Went to Al Azhar University in Cairo in 1936 and passed the secondary third-class examination.

Joined the Libyan Arab Force in October 1940. Six months later transferred to the Cyrenaican Police and went to Palestine and Eritrea for training. In 1941 joined the 4th Battalion Libyan Arab Force, then in August 1943 the Cyrenaica Defence Force with the rank of sergeant. In 1945 he resigned from the Cyrenaica Defence Force and joined the British Military Administration as a clerk in the Supplies Department. Resigned in 1949. In October 1949 he became secretary to the Minister of Finance. In March 1950 he became Director of Press and Information, Cyrenaican Government. Upon the establishment of the Cyrenaican Assembly of Representatives in June 1950 he was elected as secretary to the Assembly.

Appointed as Cyrenaican representative on the Legal Affairs Sub-Committee in February 1951.

Appointed to the Ministry of Justice, 1952.

President of the Youth League, he is an ardent supporter of the King, a protégé of Omar Mansur Pasha (to whom he is related), and has some influence with the town notables. He is not averse to the British.

**28. Mustafa Badi (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Misurata, 10th February, 1920. Educated in Tripoli Higher Islamic School.

Under the Italians he was municipal clerk and later president of the Municipality of Nofilia. Under the British he was town clerk at Sirte. Was president of the Nationalist Party's branch in Misurata. In 1947 he resigned from this party and formed a group called "Rabitat al Shabab." In 1949 appointed secretary of Misurata Municipality.

He is politically-minded and a good writer on political and social subjects. A strong nationalist.

**29. Tahir Abdul Qadir al Badawi (Tripolitanian)**

Born 1910. Nephew of the late Ahmad al Badawi of the important Zintan family in the Mizda area.

Has not taken an active part in politics except to undermine the Ghirza family. Member of the National Congress Party and stood as their candidate in the elections in February 1952. Mahmud Muntassir, the then Prime Minister, appointed him a Senator, in order to win his support.

Was not reappointed to the Senate in 1956.

**30. Abdul Qadir al Badri (Cyrenaican)**

Born about 1916. Member of the Awagir tribe. Fair education. June 1950, elected to the Cyrenaican House of Representatives as member for the Awagir. Elected Deputy for Al Abiar Constituency on 19th February, 1952, and again in 1956, after he had publicly severed his connection with Salih Buaisir.

**31. Tahir Bakir (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli in 1904. Educated in Qoranic schools in Tripoli and studied at Naples Oriental College. Under the Italians he was a school-teacher.

From 1943 to 1947 he was Secretary of Arab Affairs in Tripoli district and later Administrative Assistant to the Provincial Commissioner of Tripoli. December 1947, appointed magistrate in the Ahliya



Courts, Tripoli. In 1951 he was appointed Provincial Commissioner, Tripoli and Western Province. Appointed Director of the Interior on June 22, 1953. Appointed Nazir of Interior, July 1953, and then Nazir of Health, July 1954. December dropped from the Council of Nazirs and appointed Commissioner of Labour. April 1955 transferred to the post of Director of Communications but later the same month transferred back to the Tripolitanian Administration to become Nazir of Education for the second time. Appointed Nazir of Communications, February 1956.

Somewhat conceited and has little influence over his compatriots.

### 32. Khalil Bannani (Cyrenaican)

Born in Derna, 10th March, 1920. Elementary education. Knows English and Italian as well as Arabic.

1937-42, an employee in the Registration Section of the Municipality of Derna. In 1942, during the British occupation, he was appointed secretary at the Municipality of Derna. 1943, assistant translator in the Mutassarifia of Derna. 1945, typist in Arabic and English. 1948, appointed chief clerk at the Mutassarifia of Derna. 2nd September, 1951, transferred to the post of Assistant Controller of Establishments. 13th February, 1952, appointed acting Mayor of Benghazi. May 1952, appointed Nazir of the Interior and Education. Relinquished appointment as Nazir of Education the same month. August 1952, appointed Nazir of Health and left the Interior. Suspended and then dismissed from office in June 1954 for not having taken action over certain events leading to the death of a Bahai doctor. Appointed Deputy Chief of the Royal Diwan December 1954.

### 33. Taufiq Nuri al Barqawi (Cyrenaican)

Born 1902 in Benghazi, a member of the Aqib tribe. Educated in Benghazi during the Turkish régime.

When the Italian occupation took place he went to Turkey but later returned and joined the tribesmen fighting the Italians. In 1929 he was arrested by the Italians and subsequently he spent two years interned at Benina. When he was released he again went to Turkey, where he applied for, and was granted, Turkish nationality. Travelled widely in the Middle East and returned to Cyrenaica in 1945. Became proprietor of a small Arabic newspaper *El Jebel el Akhdar* until shortly before his appointment in October 1949 as Naib-Mutassarif of Kufra Oases. Transferred from Kufra in November 1950 to be Naib-Mutassarif of Benghazi. June 1952, transferred as deputy Mutassarif to Agedabia. In spring of 1953 transferred as Deputy Mutassarif of Derna. Appointed Mutassarif of Agedabia June 1954.

A supporter of the Sanussis and of the British. Is discontented because his service to the Sanussi cause has not earned him more rapid promotion.

Appointed Director of Press and Publications in June 1956.

### 34. Amur al Baruni (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1924. Studied at the Italo-Arab School in Tripoli. 1943-45, employed as a schoolmaster. 1946-48, local correspondent for the Arab News Agency. 1950-52, Director of the Arab Arts and Crafts School. 1952, appointed as Chief of the Prime Minister's office. 1953, appointed Director of Passports and Immigration.

Appointed Counsellor at the Libyan Embassy, London, in July 1954.

Decorations: Order of the Nile, 3rd Class.

### 35. Sulaiman Abu Rabia al Baruni (Tripolitanian)

Born in Cabeo about 1892. Educated in Tunis and at Al Azhar University, Cairo. Qadi of Cabeo and later Nalut and Jefren.

1922-40, judge of the Sharia Court. In 1938 he wrote a book on the history of the Abadites, which caused a storm among the Malikites. In 1946 he was appointed a judge of the Sharia Court of Appeal in Tripoli. July 1950, invited by the United Nations Commission to represent Tripolitania on the Preparatory Committee of twenty-one. Supported Saadawi prior to independence but now supports the Government.

He is intelligent but lacks judgment. Ambitious but weak. Imbued with exaggerated ideas of the importance of Baruni family.

### 36. Jamal al Din Bashagha (Tripolitanian)

Born Misurata 1907, primary education in Arabic and Turkish and studied for a while in Tripoli. Fought against the Italians and later went into exile in Egypt in 1923 where he kept in close contact with the King.

Returned to Tripoli 1942 appointed Mudir Misurata and Taourga and later became Qaimaqam in Zliten. Naib-Mutassarif in Beni Ulid and later Nalut. July 1954 appointed Nazir of Education probably through being a friend of the late Ibrahim Shalhi. Appointed Wali of Tripolitania 14 April, 1955. This caused a certain amount of criticism as it was generally considered that the appointment was beyond his capabilities. He has shown a friendly attitude to Britain since he has been in power.

### 37. Mustafa Bayu (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1918 in Misurata. Graduated from Farouk I University in Cairo.

In 1947 was a teacher in Alexandria Secondary School and attended the first Cultural Congress held in the Lebanon. In 1948 wrote a book entitled "Review of Tripolitanian History." 1948-49, appointed to Tripoli Secondary School as headmaster. Not involved in politics but in April 1949 he attended the Youth Congress held in Tripoli. 1951. Following his failure to be appointed Nazir of Education, he resigned from the Education Department to take a more active part in politics, in which he has made better headway. Appointed Director General at the Ministry of Education 1955.

Very pro-Egyptian. Speaks good English.

### 38. Tahir al Biju (Tripolitanian)

Born 1912. Educated Benghazi schools. Literate in Italian and Arabic.

Entered service of the Italian Government in 1935, reaching rank of Mudir. Left Government employ on outbreak of war and remained in Benghazi. Appointed Mudir of Sidi Raffa (Beda Littoria) in 1948. Promoted to Qaimaqam, Benghazi district, April 1950. Nominated by the Amir as member of the Assembly of Representatives in June 1950, and as a Cyrenaican representative on the Libyan Preparatory Committee. In October 1950 he was made a member of the Cyrenaican delegation to the Libyan Constituent Assembly. August 19, 1952, elected to the Cyrenaican Legislative Council as member for the Daud Constituency in Benghazi District, and became its first Vice-President. Resigned early 1955.

Sensible and progressive, but inclined to be influenced by stronger personalities.

### 39. Abdul Razzaq al Tahir Bishti (Tripolitanian)

Born 1903 in Zavia. Graduate of Al Azhar University in Cairo. During the Italian occupation he organised the Sharia Courts in the Fezzan. On his own initiative studied civil law and was the first licensed advocate in Tripoli.



Member of the Chief Administrator's Advisory Council until the anti-Jewish riots in November 1945 when he was interned for a fortnight and his services dispensed with. In 1946 he was elected secretary-general of the Nationalist Party which he was instrumental in forming, but resigned the same year when Mustafa Mizran (No. 151) took over the presidency of the party. In 1948 he was the first president of the Tripoli Ahliya Court which was established in that year. He took an active part in the May 1949 demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Agreement. In April 1950 he was invited to become a member of the Chief Administrator's Administrative Council, which resulted in his being expelled from the National Congress Party in July. In November 1950 he was made a judge of the Tripoli Court. He has written a number of anti-British and -American articles for *Al Libi* newspaper.

Appointed a judge of the Federal Supreme Court 11th August, 1955.

#### 40. Mahmud al Bishti (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1918 at Zavia. Member of a well-known family of educationalists in Tripolitania. Received his elementary education in Tripoli and later went to Egypt where he graduated. Returned to Tripoli in 1947 and assumed the duties of Inspector of Education. As Director of Libyan Education he negotiated and signed a Libyan-Egyptian Cultural Agreement in March 1953. On March 28, 1953, appointed Nazir of Education in the Tripolitania Legislative Council. Relieved of his post as Nazir September 1953. Reappointed Director of Education in the Ministry of Education the same month. Appointed President of the Executive Council for Tripolitania December 1954. He did not prove an ideal administrator because of his lack of experience and his habit of using personal violence. Appointed Chancellor of the first Libyan University in Benghazi on the 31st May, 1956. Relinquished his post as President of the Executive Council.

#### 41. Abdul Salam Bsaikri (Cyrenaican)

Born 1903. Educated in Cyrenaica and in Italy. Attended the Higher Technical Institute in Benghazi. Held various clerical posts under the Italians and the British. Appointed Mudir of Benghazi District 1943. Jebel District 1945. Appointed Qaimaqam, Benghazi District, January 1947. He was regarded as inefficient, inept at handling tribal matters and too liable to let political considerations interfere with his work. Became member of the Cyrenaican National Congress. 1950, elected member of the Cyrenaican Assembly of Representatives. Regarded as a sympathiser of the disbanded National Association. Elected Deputy for Sidi Daous Constituency (Benghazi) February 19, 1952. Voted against the Anglo-Libyan Treaty, August 1953. Appointed Minister of Education 26 April 1955. Sympathetic towards the Sharif side of the Sanussi family. Dropped from the Cabinet in the Ministerial reshuffle which took place in March 1956. Appointed first Libyan Ambassador to Tunisia and presented his credentials to the Bey of Tunis 22nd June, 1956.

#### 42. Salih Buaisir (Cyrenaican)

Born in Benghazi in 1923, member of the Awagir tribe. Is engaged in commerce. Educated at Arab and Italian schools in Benghazi until 1937, when he went to Al Azhar University in Cairo to complete his education. Remained in Egypt till 1944, when he returned to Cyrenaica.

Became editor of the *Barqa al Jadida* (British-sponsored Arab newspaper), which position he held from 1944 until his resignation in 1949. Without

tribal or family influence he has achieved prominence as a leader of the younger progressives. In June 1950 he was elected to the Assembly of Representatives as member for the Awagir (Mtawa), and soon showed himself to be one of its more vocal and active members. In January 1951 he was press secretary to the delegation from the Libyan Constituent Assembly which went to Cairo to explain the Libyan case before the Arab League.

Shortly before the Libyan elections he launched a new weekly newspaper, *Al Difa'a*, which presented the views of the Cyrenaican opposition elements. Elected a Deputy for Tocrá on 19th February, 1952.

In Parliament he at first adopted an antagonistic attitude towards treaties with foreign Powers, but later became more reasonable. He was very influential and one of the best speakers and became Deputy President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Although a supporter of the Sanussis, he is best described as a Progressive Nationalist, and set himself against the King's circle of advisers, and more particularly against Mustafa bin Halim, who banned his newspaper when taking office. He was in business with Abdul Gassim al Sanussi. He tried various methods to save Sharif Mukiyadin, who murdered Ibrahim Shalhi, from the gallows, without success. His forceful personality and his liking for political struggle made the Government nervous of him. On August 8, 1955, he fled to Tunis disguised as a woman using a borrowed passport, because he found out that the Government were about to deport him to Cyrenaica from Tripolitania. He went to Egypt and is now said to have made his peace with Mustafa bin Halim, who has promised to allow him to return to Cyrenaica, probably to strengthen bin Halim's hand against the Sharif branch of the family which he no longer supports.

Witty and astute, he is the only Cyrenaican who can claim to be a journalist in the professional sense of the word. He has some connections in Egypt which he visits frequently. Speaks rather halting English and a similar amount of Italian.

#### 43. Wahbi al Buri (Cyrenaican)

Born in Alexandria in 1914, family came from Misurata. Educated at Egyptian primary and Italian secondary schools. Finally studied at the Oriental Institute in Naples and obtained a degree in political science.

Visited Benghazi in 1933 and was forbidden by the Egyptian Government to return to Egypt on account of his pro-Italian activities. Held various posts under the Italians in Cyrenaica. Applied for and was granted special Italian citizenship. Was then transferred to the Italian Legation in Algiers. Employed by the Italian Ministry of Propaganda during the war, and became secretary to the Grand Mufti. Returned with him to Egypt after the end of the war, where he had contacts with the Arab League. The Amir was favourably impressed with him, sponsored his return to Cyrenaica, and appointed him assistant Rais Diwan at the end of 1947. Went to Cairo in January 1951 with the delegation from the Libyan Constituent Assembly to explain the Libyan case to the Arab League. Served for a time as Master of Ceremonies at the Diwan. Appointed Counsellor at the Libyan Legation in Cairo. Transferred to the Libyan Ministry for Foreign Affairs July 1955.

Reappointed as Counsellor to Cairo, where he still is.

A quiet personality, he is cultured and sensible with a "continental" outlook. A moderate supporter of the British connexion. Speaks fluent Italian and good French.

Decorations: Order of the Nile, 1st Class.



**44. Munir Burshan (Tripolitanian)**

Born in 1895 at Garian. Educated at the Military School, Constantinople. Speaks Arabic, Turkish and a little English, French and German.

During the 1914-18 war was an officer in the Turkish army and served in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Travelled extensively in Europe and Asia Minor. After studying in Constantinople learnt engineering in Berlin and Stuttgart with Mercedes and Daimler Benz.

Returned to Tripolitania during the Italian occupation and was employed as an inspector of education. Visited Mecca three times at the expense of the Italian Government to spy on pilgrims. Editor of the *Tarabulus el Gharb* newspaper (which was then run by the British Administration) from May 1945 until 1950.

In June 1950 he went to the United Kingdom at the invitation of the British Administration. In July 1950 he was unanimously elected honorary president of the Libyan Labour Union. In October 1950 he was appointed a National Congress representative for Garian in the Libyan National Assembly. He was appointed an executive member of the National Congress in 1950. Was summarily dismissed from the party by Bashir Saadawi on 5th January, 1951, which led him to support the anti-Saadawi clique from the National Congress Party. On 12th May, 1951, an unsuccessful attempt was made on his life when he was fired on by an unknown assailant. The motive for the outrage was attributed to Burshan's press attacks on Bashir Saadawi and his henchman Dr. Fuad Shukri. Appointed Secretary of Parliamentary Affairs in 1951.

He is a trouble maker. Tries to please everyone and succeeds in pleasing nobody. An enthusiastic supporter of the Sanussis. Tends to over-rate his own capabilities.

**45. Abdul Salam Busairi (Tripolitanian)**

Born Tripoli, 1897. Educated in Turkish and French schools and won a scholarship in 1911 from the Ottoman Government to study in France. After a lot of haggling with the Italian authorities on the subject he finally went to Italy instead. Completed his secondary education in Italy and later a degree in Law and Philosophy. On his return to Libya in 1919 he joined the nationalists movement and was elected as a member of the delegation which went to Italy to press for Libyan claims for Independence. 1922, he was sentenced by an Italian court to life imprisonment and confiscation of all his property. He was released ten years later and advised to leave the country. He went to Turkey in 1933. He joined the Civil Service and was appointed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and eventually became the head of a section. He returned to Libya in March 1954 and was appointed as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the bin Halim Government in April 1954. Appointed Wali of Tripolitania December 1954. He proved a weak Governor and for this reason was replaced as Wali on the 15th April, 1955, when he became Chief of the Royal Cabinet.

Quite an agreeable personality, but not a strong character. Speaks good French and Italian.

**46. Dr. Giuseppe Cassar (Tripolitanian)**

British subject by birth (Maltese). Born in Tripoli, 5th December, 1919. Has an Italian wife.

Imports pharmaceuticals. Pro-Italian. Not popular with the Maltese community in Tripoli because they believe that during his stay in Italy, 1942-45, he obtained Italian citizenship. Obtained his degree as doctor of science in economics and commerce in Italy in 1944. Returned to Tripoli in

January 1946 with other repatriated Maltese. October 1949, appointed honorary Netherlands Consul.

**47. Dr. Domenico Prosdocimo Cattiti (Tripolitanian)**

Italian. Born 21st September, 1902, in Bisenti (Teramo, Italy). Doctor of Law.

24th April, 1927, became a member of the Fascist Party. Came to Libya about 1928 and was part owner of two concessions. After the occupation in 1943 he was keen to collaborate with the British in all matters of common interest and he renounced fascism. During 1947 he did his utmost to revive the territory economically and to arrange industrial and commercial agreements between the British Administration and the Italian Government. In March 1948 he was granted permission to found the non-political "Economic Front of Libya" Party and became its president.

His political significance is moderate, but he is apt to veer to either wing if favourable to his economic plans, with which he is more concerned than politics.

**48. Sulaiman Dihan (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Zuara in 1918. Fairly well educated.

Was a school-teacher but was dismissed for leading anti-Italian demonstrations in Zuara in 1944. Reappointed school-teacher and dismissed again for causing trouble. During November 1945 riots in Tripoli he tried to stir up trouble in Zuara but was arrested and returned to Tripoli. In 1947 went to Egypt clandestinely and published articles in the Egyptian press containing false accusations against the Administration. Returned to Tripoli in 1948 as secretary to the Libyan Liberation Committee. Until 1948 was an executive member of the Nationalist Party. Issued three clandestine news-sheets under different names attacking the British Administration, Italians and pro-Italian Arabs. Organised Youth Congress in April 1949. Instigated public demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan in May 1949. Looked upon as leader of the irresponsible elements in Tripoli. Since May 1949 has been in close touch with the Communist Alvaro Felici. July 1950, employed in the Posts and Telegraphs Department on his return from a visit to the United Kingdom. Attended a long course in the United Kingdom in 1952.

Appointed Secretary of the Communications Department of the Libyan Government in 1952, and Deputy Director of Posts and Telegraphs in the Tripolitanian Administration on April 1, 1953. Transferred to the Ministry of Communications in a more junior capacity, April 1955.

**49. Abdul Hamid Daibani (Cyrenaican)**

Born Derna January 15, 1902. Sheikh of the Tawajir tribe. Studies at the religious institute, Giarabub. Then went to El Azhar University at the Italian Government's expense. Returned to Cyrenaica, 1926, appointed chief clerk, Islamic Tribunal, Tobruk. 1927, appointed Qadi. 1932, appointed Qadi, Barce. 1936, appointed Qadi, Benghazi. 1943, appointed Grand Qadi, Cyrenaica. 1950, appointed President of the High Religious Court of Appeal which post he held until he was appointed to the Libyan Supreme Court, February 1954. Dismissed from his post in the Libyan Supreme Court at the end of 1954 for having been associated with the Supreme Court's decision to declare the action of the King in dissolving the Tripolitanian Legislation Assembly illegal. Shortly afterwards appointed Mufti of Cyrenaica and re-established himself with the King, having confirmed the death sentence on Sharif Muhiyadin



for the assassination of Ibrahim Shalhi. Appointed Nazir of Justice in Cyrenaica in January 1955 but has not proved a great success.

A God-fearing and enlightened man whose views deserve highest consideration. A leader of the enlightened elements among the younger intelligentsia who exercised a moderating influence.

#### 50. Bu Bakr Dihan (Cyrenaican)

Born in 1885. Lives in Messa and is Mustashar of the Dorsa tribe. A supporter of the Sanussis and one of the leading tribal Sheikhs. Forceful and critical character. A wise man who is not, however, universally popular among the Dorsa. A great talker, confident of his ability to hold his job and position.

Nominated by the Amir in October 1950 to be a member of the Cyrenaican delegation to the Libyan Constituent Assembly.

#### 51. Muhammad bu Dajaja (Cyrenaican)

Born 1905 in Benghazi. Home in Barce, at present living in Benghazi. Member of the Qasr Hamad tribe. Studied at the University Buccini, Milan, 1924-26, but failed to obtain a degree in economics owing to the curtailment of his studies. Literate in Arabic and Italian.

In 1926 he was employed by the Banca d'Italia, Benghazi. In 1932, as a result of his public criticisms of Mussolini and the Fascist régime, he was tried by a special tribunal and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He served the full term. From 1937 to 1940 he was employed with the Consorzio Agrario. In October 1940 he was again arrested and detained without trial—first in Benghazi prison and then in Zuetina concentration camp. Released by the first British occupation.

From 1943 to 1945 he was Mayor of Barce. From 1945 to 1948 he was engaged on private business. In September 1949 he was appointed Minister of Finance in the new Cyrenaican Government. In March 1950 he additionally assumed the Education portfolio, which he only held, however, for four months—after which it was transferred to the Minister of Health. He is known to have retained a number of Italian contacts. He paid a visit to Italy in January 1951, the object of which has never been revealed. Shortly after his return he accompanied the Financial Adviser, Government of Cyrenaica, to London for discussions in connexion with the "Grant-in-Aid." Relinquished his post as Nazir of Finance in May 1952. Has close business relations with Italy.

Reasonable and intelligent, and a supporter of the Sanussis, he enjoys considerable popularity in the towns. Considered to be a protégé of Umar Mansur Pasha, but actually shows some independence of judgment and good common sense.

#### 52. Kilani al Drairit (Cyrenaican)

Born in Soluq in 1894. Magharba Shammakh tribe. Served in the Libyan Carabinieri, 1913-30. 1939, Secretary of Arab Affairs at Soluq under the Italians. He spent a short time in *résidence forcée*, despite this he is believed to have kept a number of Italian contacts. Interned by British after the occupation as he handed over five British soldiers to the Italians. Elected Deputy for Agedabia Nuririyya Constituency on 19th February, 1952. Not re-elected in 1956. Unsavoury character.

#### 53. Ali Muhammad Dib (Tripolitanian)

Educated in the Al Azhar University, Cairo. At one time was chief clerk of the Sharia Courts, Tripoli. Edited a political newspaper called *Al Libi*, the first edition of which, appearing on August

16, 1952, contained criticism of both the Government and the Opposition. Elected to the Tripolitanian Legislative Council for Western Province and appointed President of the Council on March 28, 1953.

Following Sadiq Muntassir's appointment as Wali, relations became very strained between the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Council, until finally the King, acting on the advice of the Executive Council, dissolved the Legislative Assembly. This led him to file a case with the Supreme Court against the Wali and the Council of Nazirs which he won. The judgment of the Supreme Court was ignored both by the King and the Wali who went ahead in holding new elections for a new Legislative Assembly. Since then he has taken a back seat in politics. His determination and frankness have won him considerable praise.

#### 54. Awni Dijani (Jordanian)

Palestinian. Born about 1911. Educated in Palestine, Beirut and England. He took a degree at Queens' College, Cambridge, and did a year's post-graduate work at Oxford. He is a member of the English Bar and on his return to Palestine became an advocate and a lecturer at the Government Law School. Was driven out of Palestine, and like many others, his family suffered financial loss. His father was for many years a judge of the district court, Jaffa; and in late 1951 was invited by King Abdullah to become a member of the Court of the Coronation in Jordan. Dijani's wife is a member of the same well-known Palestinian family. She is a close friend of Queen Fatimah.

Dijani was legal adviser to the King and assisted with the drafting of the Constitution and generally with the setting up of the Libyan Government. Appointed to the Libyan Supreme Court, February 1952.

He is a friend of Mahmud Muntassir.

#### 55. Abdul Rahman Duqduq (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1918. Educated at Al Azhar University in Cairo.

Was an executive member of the Nationalist Party. Detained by the police during November 1945 riots. In December 1947 was appointed magistrate of the Ahliya Court. In 1948 became radio monitor for the Public Information Office of the British Administration. In 1949, Arabic political commentator at the Tripoli broadcasting station, in which position he was looked upon as being the "Voice of Tripoli Youth." April 1951, dismissed from the British information services for subversive political activity in connexion with the National Congress and Congress Youth.

Writes articles on various subjects and makes frequent speeches in order to increase his popularity. Advocated unity under the Sanussi Emirate. Immature and not very intelligent but likely to improve if given careful guidance and supervision. A staunch supporter of Bashir Saadawi and not favourably disposed towards the Muntassirs.

#### 56. Massud Bin Issa (Tripolitanian)

Born in Nalut in 1882. An Abadite notable and Qaimaqam of Nalut. In 1924-25 he assisted the Italians against his countrymen.

Has political leanings and is fairly influential in his district. A hard person who has always backed the right horse in politics.

#### 57. Yahia Bin Massud Bin Issa (Tripolitanian)

Born in Nalut in 1914, the son of Massud bin Issa, the Berber leader who was Qaimaqam of Nalut.



15th June, 1948, he was made president of the Ahliya Court at Nalut. 14th April, 1949, elected to the Provisional Committee of the Youth Congress. Was on 2nd November, 1950, chosen as a neutral representative for the Nalut area on the Libyan National Assembly.

Elected Deputy for Nalut in the 1956 elections.

#### 58. Ali Fallaq (Cyrenaican)

Born 1915 in Benghazi, where he was for some time a merchant. Belongs to the Karaghla Yedder tribe. Studied at Italian schools. Held various administrative posts in service of Italian Government. On final British occupation in 1942 he was appointed as secretary to the Benghazi Municipality, a position he held until his resignation in November 1947.

A leading member of the National Club, with pro-Italian and Egyptian sympathies, he is cosmopolitan in outlook, volatile in temperament, not a very devout Moslem, and not an over-enthusiastic supporter of the Sanussis. Intelligent and energetic. Appointed Nazir of Finance January, 1955, in the Cyrenaican Administration probably on Mustafa bin Halim's instigation to try and win the support of the National Association members. He is in favour of a unitary form of state.

Dismissed as Nazir of Finance on 12th October, 1955, probably due to his opposition to the Wali of Cyrenaica.

Appointed as a member of the Board of the Agricultural Bank of Libya.

#### 59. Kamal Farhat (Tripolitanian)

Born in Jefren in 1894. Brother of Najmaddin and Mahmud and son of Muhammad Farhat, the son of the famous Tripolitanian leader. Studied in Quranic schools in Tripolitania. From 1908-13 he was with his father in Constantinople where he continued his studies at Brusa College. Studied at Turin School of Commerce until 1918.

Until 1922 engaged in business. Left for the Fezzan in the same year. Was captured by the Italians in 1925 and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for taking part in the armed resistance. Pardoned after five years. From 1930 to the British occupation was a clerk in the Singer Company. Since 1943 has devoted himself to agriculture. In January 1948 was elected president of Zavia Ahliya Court. Elected Deputy for Zavia Centre Constituency on 19th February, 1952.

He did not stand in the 1956 elections.

Is calm, unflattering and well-balanced. Anti-Italian at heart; favoured the National Congress Party. Is very keen on improving his knowledge of legal procedure. Has proved to be a reasonable and unbiased judge.

#### 60. Mahmud Farhat (Tripolitanian)

Born in Zavia in 1918. Son of a well-known Libyan leader and brother of Najmaddin and Kamal. Studied at the Italian Secondary School in Tripoli.

Employed by Banca di Napoli from 1939 to 1943. Editor of an Italian propaganda newspaper in Arabic. In 1943 joined the Tripolitania police as inspector. Was asked to resign in 1944 after taking part in anti-Italian demonstrations in Zuara. In 1945 joined the Education Department as a school-teacher. Played an important part in the formation of the Workers' Club. In 1946 was secretary-general of the United National Front. In the same year he left this party and joined the Nationalist Party. During 1945 riots he was detained. In April 1949 he attended the Youth Congress.

In 1952 he was appointed Secretary to the Minister of Communications.

Intelligent, well-educated but inexperienced in politics. Favoured the National Congress Party.

April 1955 transferred as Director of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education.

#### 61. Najmaddin Farhat (Tripolitanian)

Born in Zavia in 1908. His father was a Deputy to the Turkish Parliament in Constantinople. Brother of Kamal and Mahmud. Studied at Naples Institute for Oriental Studies until 1942. Knows Italian and some English.

In 1943 joined the Tripolitania police as an inspector. Resigned in 1945 to take up a civil appointment as Secretary of Arab Affairs. Promoted to Administrative Assistant in 1946. At the end of 1946 he tried to form a pro-British political party in Zavia. In 1947 was transferred to headquarters as Assistant Officer for Native Affairs. In May 1949 was elected president of the Youth Congress. 1952, appointed Director of Establishments, Tripolitania; and later the same year became Acting Director of Establishments and Personnel, Federal Government, since which he has shown a more co-operative attitude. Appointed Nazir of Finance, July 5, 1953. Resigned as Nazir of Communications, July 1954. He proved a capable Nazir during his term of office.

After taking a long leave he was reappointed as Director of Establishments in the Tripolitanian Administration. He is not very popular with his Libyan superiors.

#### 62. Gihan Faurtia

Born in Misurata about 1890. Used his position as an Italian civil servant to enrich himself but was a vigorous critic of Italian methods. Opposed the formation of the Fascist Littorio Association for Arabs and refused to join. Resigned from Government service in 1938, when he refused to sit for a qualifying examination. Following the British occupation he was interned for over a year. A member of the Misurata Advisory Council. January 1948, president of the Misurata branch of the National Congress Party. Mayor, Misurata, 1953.

A rich property owner. Is more European than Arab. A staunch supporter of Bashir Saadawi and an opponent of the Muntassir family, but since independence has shown an inclination to support the Muntassir Government following his appointment as an assessor to the courts in Misurata.

#### 63. Muhiyadin Fikini

Son of the late Muhammad bin Khalifa Fikini, a famous rebel leader of the Jebel who rebelled against the Italians. Educated in Paris and graduated from the Sorbonne with a doctor's degree in legal studies. He was brought up in Tunis but returned to Libya in October 1950. Appointed Nazir of Justice in the Tripolitania Legislative Council on March 28, 1953. Relinquished this appointment and became Nazir of Interior and President of the Council of Nazirs, July 1954, when the organic law was amended making the Executive Council answerable to the Legislative Assembly. Accompanied the Prime Minister to America for the American/Libyan financial talks, July 1954.

Reappointed Nazir of Justice when Sadiq Muntassir was removed from office. Relieved of this appointment April 1955, and appointed as a counsellor in the Libyan Foreign Office.

Leader of the Libyan delegation for the Italo-Libyan talks.

Appointed Minister of State March 1956. He was unco-operative during the time he was in office as President of the Council. He has an inflated idea of his own importance.



**64. Dr. Aurelio Finzi (Tripolitanian)**

Italian. President of the Italian Courts. Right-wing. His appointment to the Chief Administrator's Administrative Council in Tripoli under the British Administration was not acceptable to the Arabs but was popular with the largely Fascist-minded Italian population. Appointed Judge in the Federal Supreme Court (Pending Cases Division), December 22, 1954.

**65. Hussain al Fiqi (Tripolitanian)**

Elected Deputy for Misurata (Zarrugh) Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

Re-elected as a Deputy for Qasr Ahmad constituency (Misurata). Served in the Libyan Arab Force as an officer and is pro-British.

**66. Abdul Jawad Fraitas (Cyrenaican)**

Born about 1898 in Derna and is a member of the Tawajir tribe. He was educated at the Khuttab School in Derna and for a brief period in 1917 was secretary of the "Sanussi Council" set up by Sayed Idris. He then went to Egypt and in 1919 won a scholarship offered by the Italian Government for Al Azhar University, remaining in Egypt in consequence until 1926.

For the next two years he held a post as chief clerk in Benghazi and Derna, but was discharged when the rebellion broke out in the Jebel. He became a petition writer and in 1934 was employed once again by the Italians as a schoolmaster. After the Italians left Cyrenaica he was employed for a time by the Public Information Officer and then entered the Education Department, becoming a school inspector in Derna where, in 1947, he is known to have belonged to the Derna branch of the National Association. In 1948 he became a member of the Cyrenaican National Congress, and in 1950 was appointed by the Amir as a member of the Cyrenaican delegation to the Libyan Constituent Assembly. March, 1952 he was appointed to the Senate, and became its secretary. Resigned in 1953 and became Director of Education in the Cyrenaican Administration. 1954 became Nazir of Education but in March 1955, was transferred to the post of Nazir of Public Works after there had been complaints against him, probably due to his difficult personality.

He is intelligent, a good organiser, a supporter of the Sanussi Crown and firm follower of Muhammad Saqisli.

**67. Muhammad Taufiq al Gariani (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Garian about 1895. Took refuge in Cairo during the Italian occupation and was for some time private secretary to the late Lamlum Pasha. During his stay in Tripolitania from 1946 to 1949 he endeavoured to make himself a political leader but failed through lack of ability. 1947-48, member of the Central Committee of the United National Front. In 1948 he fell under the influence of Ibrahim Bin Shaaban and since then has been strongly pro-Italian. In May 1949 he was intimidated by the mob which demonstrated against the Bevin-Sforza Plan and consequently left for Cairo.

Elected to the Tripolitania Legislative Council as representative for Garian East in March 1953; and on March 29 he was elected Secretary of the Council.

Opposed to the Sanussis. Not to be trusted, will follow whoever pays him the most.

**68. Hussain Gharur (Cyrenaican)**

Commissioner of Labour in the Cyrenaican Government. For almost a year in 1955-56 acted as Director of Press and Publications also. He is the father-in-law of Husain Maziq, the Governor

of Cyrenaica. Member of the Libyan education and press delegation to the United Kingdom in 1956. Well disposed towards the British.

**69. Ahmad al Alam Ghirza (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Mizda in 1871. Under the Italians was representative of and adviser for the Qibla tribes. Distantly related to King Idris, whose mother and grandmother were from the Bu Seif tribe.

Fought against the Italians until 1921 when he became intermediary between the five Qibla tribes and the Italian Administration. About 1924 he led the other chiefs of the Awlad bu Saif to Garian to show their allegiance to General Graziani. A few days later he accompanied the general to Tripoli to make a formal submission to the Government. In 1926 he was nominated Government agent for his tribe. In 1941 he was Secretary for Arab Affairs. In 1949 he encouraged the formation of the Istiqlal Party.

One of the ten members appointed in March 1953 by the Tripolitanian Administration to the local Legislative Assembly, which was later dissolved.

He is shrewd and ambitious. Pro-French. Prepared to co-operate with any foreign Government provided his influence and financial interests are safeguarded. Learned in religious matters and has considerable influence in his area. Holder of the Italian "Grand Cordon" decoration. Not a pleasant personality.

**70. Ramadan al Gritli (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Candia (Crete), 14th July, 1899. A paid Italian propagandist. During the early days of the Italian occupation he led an armed band against the Arab rebels. From 1930-34 he was interpreter and acted as a political adviser to General Graziani. Took part in the fighting against the British in Cyrenaica during the last war and performed intelligence duties on the Egyptian frontier. He was interned by the British in 1943 and released in 1944. A leading member of the Istiqlal Party formed in July 1949.

**71. Muhammad Ghirza (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Zawiet Ghirza in 1917. Elected Deputy for Mizda area on 19th February, 1952. Not a prepossessing character but anxious to please.

Re-elected in 1956.

**72. Zacchino Habib (Tripolitanian)**

Born 1896 in Tripoli. British subject. Speaks English, Hebrew, Arabic, French and Italian.

Acted as interpreter in the negotiations that took place between the Italians and the Cyrenaicans prior to the Treaty of Acroma. Wealthy wholesale merchant and until 1947 president of the Jewish community in Tripoli. Was a member of the United National Front and a member of the delegation that went to Cyrenaica to discuss unity with the Cyrenaican Congress. In April 1950 he was invited by the Chief Administrator to become a member of the Administrative Council.

Because he was suspected of having connections with Israel he was refused an exit/re-entry visa for Libya. The Libyan authorities, however, agreed to allow him to leave the country for good should he so desire.

He has in the past enjoyed good relations with the Libyans and gave the Administration valuable assistance in making peace between the Jews and the Arabs in 1948.

He is mainly interested in the textile trade.



**73. Mahdi bin Muhammad Hasiagi** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Suq el Juma in 1916. Graduated from Fuad I University in Cairo in 1946. In 1947 returned to Tripoli and joined the Education Department as secondary school teacher. December 1947, appointed a magistrate of the Tripoli Ahliya Court. At the end of the scholastic year 1948-49 he became manager of a milk factory in Tripoli. Not talkative but has a sense of humour. Not a member of any political party.

**74. Mustafa Ahmad bin Halim** (Cyrenaican)

Born in Egypt in 1920, son of Derna merchant who emigrated to Egypt in the early days of the Italian occupation of Cyrenaica. Family was originally from Zliten, Tripolitania. Educated at Egyptian elementary and secondary schools. Graduated from Fuad el Awal University with a B.Sc. in civil engineering. Obtained a post with a firm of Egyptian contracting engineers. His family remained in touch with Cyrenaica and he paid periodical visits to Derna where his cousin Abdul Hamid bin Halim was a prominent member of the National Association.

In July 1950 he was appointed Minister of Works and Communications in the Cyrenaican Government. Visited London together with the Minister of Finance in February 1951 for discussions in connexion with the Grant-in-Aid.

Incurred the displeasure of King Idris and was forced to resign his post as Nazir of Public Works and Communications in October 1952, but was reappointed two weeks later on the intervention of the late Ibrahim Shalhi with whom he maintained close relations.

Member of the United Nations Economic Council. Represented Cyrenaica on the Board of the Development and Stabilisation Agency. Appointed Minister of Communications February 17, 1954, relinquishing Nazir post. Appointed Prime Minister when the Saqisli Government resigned April 1954. Visited Turkey and Egypt, June 1954. Visited America July 1954, in connexion with the Libyan-American financial talks. Prior to and since becoming Prime Minister he has adopted a pro-Egyptian outlook which has become more pronounced since early 1955. He was the prime mover in the King's marriage to Alya Lamlun in June 1955. He is believed to be in business partnership with Abdullah Abid al Sanussi. He is an opportunist who has played his cards well. Outwardly his attitude towards Britain is friendly and he is co-operative on routine matters.

His popularity has somewhat declined during 1955-56 because of his shady business deals and his antagonism towards the Sharif branch of the Sanussi family. There is little doubt that he will make a bid to set up a Republic in Libya on the King's death and has ambitions of becoming the first President. It is doubtful whether he will succeed. His seemingly pro-Western attitude after his visit to the United Kingdom in July 1956 should be treated with reserve.

Extremely intelligent and energetic; speaks excellent English, French and Italian. His wife is a charming Palestinian, who also speaks good English.

**75. Sanussi bin Hamaida** (Fezzan)

Elected Deputy for Murzuk Constituency in the Fezzan on 19th February, 1952.

Re-elected in 1956.

**76. Muhammad Kamal Hammali** (Tripolitanian)

Born Suq el Juma in 1885. Was Superintendent of Education in Tripoli during the Italian occupation. An executive member of the Independence

Party and therefore looked upon as being pro-Italian. 1951, appointed as Director of Arabic studies in the Italian schools. Appointed Nazir of Health, September 1953. Resigned July 1954.

Not an outstanding personality.

**77. Bashir bin Hamuda bin Hamza** (Tripolitanian)

Born about 1896. Studied religious law and practised as a lawyer in the Sharia Courts. Treated by his colleagues with disdain because of his hypocrisy and his corruption.

Was a member of the Nationalist Party but left it in 1945 to assist Ali Fiqih Hassan in the formation of the Free National *bloc*, of which he was secretary until October 1947. Appointed assessor to the Italian courts in 1945. In August 1947 he was licensed to practise as an advocate in the British military courts in Tripolitania. In December 1947 quarrelled with the president of the Free National *bloc* over financial matters and formed the Labour Party. He received little support and his party ceased to be recognised officially in December 1948. In 1948 and 1949 he visited Cairo where he contacted elements of the Tripolitanian Defence Committee which was backed by Azzam Pasha.

It is said that he will stoop to anything that will bring him political power. Has failed to become a national leader and has consorted with Italian agents. Is extremely pro-Italian. Of little political importance.

**78. Muhammad al Hunaish** (Cyrenaican)

Was employed by the Italians before 1942. Under the former Military Administration he served as chief clerk to the senior civil affairs officer in Benghazi. Later appointed assistant Mutasarrif of Derna where he was unpopular with the townsfolk, who suspected him of corruption, and failed to co-operate satisfactorily with the British Military Authorities. In April 1953 he became chief secretary in the Nazarate of Interior after understudying the British chief secretary whom he succeeded in this post. He was appointed Director of Tourism in Cyrenaica at the end of 1955. Active and intelligent, he combines ability with ambition. Speaks some English and good Italian.

**79. Muhammad Ibrahim al Hangari** (Tripolitanian)

Born Garian about 1900. Studied in Tripoli Quranic schools and at Al Azhar University in Cairo.

One of the first to co-operate with the British when they occupied Tripolitania. Greatly esteemed and respected.

Qadi of Zavia, later Sharia Court Judge in Misurata. An executive member of the United National Front, affiliated to the National Congress Party, and president of its branch in Zavia. 1947, member of the Tripolitanian delegation to Benghazi to negotiate the unity of Libya under the Senussi Amirate. May 1949, took an active part in the demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Agreement. Anti-Italian at heart. November 1950, chosen as a National Congress and United National Front representative for the Zavia area in the Libyan National Assembly, although he was in opposition to Bashir Saadawi. Under the Mufti's influence.

**80. Ahmad al Hasairi** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1908. Educated in local schools.

During the Italian occupation he was an announcer on Tripoli radio. Since 1943 has been a leading member of the Arab Cultural Club. Secretary of the Nationalist Party since 1946. January 1948, appointed magistrate in the Ahliya



Court but dismissed in September 1948 for partiality. Appointed Arabic announcer on Tripoli radio in 1948. Served as a clerk in the Sharia Court and Sheikh of a quarter of Tripoli town. Appointed Nazir of Health, August 1, 1953. Transferred to the post of Nazir of Education, September 1953. Resigned July 1954.

A good speech-maker. Pleasant, intelligent and popular, but rather a "yes man."

#### 81. Salim bin Hassan (Fezzan)

Elected Deputy for Sebha Constituency in the Fezzan on 19th February, 1952.

Re-elected in 1956.

#### 82. Ahmad al Fiqih Hassan (Tripolitanian)

Born 1895, Tripoli. Father was secretary to the Turkish Governor, Ragab Pasha, and an assessor and adviser in the Turkish Court of Appeal. Studied Arabic and Turkish in Tripoli until the end of 1911, when he went to Egypt and Turkey where his father emigrated after the Italian occupation of Tripoli. He remained there for seven years and returned to Tripoli in 1919.

Soon after his arrival in Tripoli he started his nationalist activities and founded the Arab Cultural Club which later was closed by the Italians. In 1930 he married the sister of Mustafa Mizran. In 1931 he obtained Turkish nationality. Appointed director of Awqaf Library in 1936. He was arrested in November 1945 and released in January 1946 in connexion with anti-Jewish riots.

In 1946 he founded the Nationalist Party, from which he later resigned to become a member of the United National Front. He resigned from this party, owing to his differences with Salam Muntassir, to join the free National *bloc* founded by his brother Ali Fiqih Hassan. He acted as president of this party during his brother's internment in 1948. Is inclined to hold Nationalist views, being under the influence of his brother.

In September 1947 he was a member of the Arab Advisory Education Committee. In December 1947 appointed magistrate at the Ahliya Courts, Tripoli. Early in 1949 he was appointed manager of the Awqaf Council in succession to Mahmud Muntassir. In April 1950 he was invited by the Chief administrator to become a member of the Administrative Council and accepted.

In 1955 he was appointed President of the Turco-Libyan Cultural Club, but early in 1956 was lured away by the Egyptians and appointed adviser to their Cultural Centre.

He is not an outstanding personality and has little influence.

#### 83. Ali Fiqih Hassan (Tripolitanian)

Born 1897. Turkish of Libyan origin. Younger brother of Ahmad al Fiqih Hassan. His family emigrated to Egypt and later to Turkey. From 1911 to 1919 he was educated in Alexandria and later in Turkey. Speaks Turkish, French and Italian.

On his return to Tripolitania he was not employed by the Italians but lived on his small private income. Following the occupation of Tripolitania by the Allied forces, he petitioned the British for the independence of Libya. Arrested with his brother in November 1945 after anti-Jewish riots; released sixteen days later. In 1946 he was a member of the United National Front, but in the same year he left this party and formed the Free National *bloc*.

In February 1948 he delivered an extremely provocative speech attacking all foreigners and describing them as infidels. He also caused to be displayed inflammatory notices inciting Arabs to attack Italians and pro-Italian Arabs. Communal disorders followed in which police and troops were

used to disperse the rioters with tear gas. Ali Fiqih Hassan was arrested on 2nd February as a result of the disorders. While in prison he resigned the presidency of the Free National *bloc* and swore to forgo all political activity as the price of his freedom. In April he was released.

In January 1949 he clandestinely resumed political activity, making every attempt to hinder efforts being made to secure a united Libya under a Sanussi Amirate. He resumed the presidency of the Free National *bloc* the same year. After an interview with the Amir of Cyrenaica in September 1950 he adopted a pro-Sanussi policy, causing considerable resentment among members of his party. When candidates for the Libyan National Assembly were being chosen by the Mufti of Tripolitania he refused to co-operate unless at least ten members of his party were nominated. Under such conditions no members of his party were chosen and he reverted to his former anti-Sanussi policy.

He has a good presence, is abrupt in his speech and, on occasions, can rant and rave in a pseudo-Hitler manner.

#### 84. Mustafa Sadiq Hassan (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli about 1905, of Turkish origin. Educated in Tripoli schools. Brother-in-law of Muhammad Ahmad Aragib.

Established contacts with the Destour movement in French North Africa before the British occupation of Libya and sheltered members of this party who fled to Egypt via Tripolitania. Interned after November 1945 riots. Joined the Nationalist Party when it was formed in 1946 and was its secretary. Quarrelled with Mustafa Mizran, the leader, and was forced to resign as he was suspected of watching and reporting Mizran's pro-Italian activities. In December 1947 he was appointed magistrate in the Ahliya Courts, Tripoli. In 1949, appointed chief clerk of Tripoli Ahliya Courts. In November 1950 he was appointed a deputy judge in the Civil Courts.

Of little political significance. Close friend of Abdul Razzaq al Tahir Bishti.

#### 85. Mahmud bu Hidma (Cyrenaican)

Born about 1895. An influential tribal Sheikh of the Agedabia area.

Was active in the resistance to the Italians from 1911, when he was 16, until he finally went to Egypt in 1928. In 1940 he was one of the Sheikhs at the council which determined on the raising of the Sanussi forces and assisted in the recruiting. He returned to Cyrenaica in May 1943. Was a member of the National Congress until its disbandment in March 1950, and in June of the same year was appointed by the Amir to be one of the Cyrenaican representatives on the Libyan Preparatory Committee.

Elected President of the Cyrenaican Legislative Assembly in November 1952.

He with other leading personalities in Cyrenaica are opposed to a unitary form of Government and have made their views known to the King. Rather critical of Mustafa bin Halim.

Appointed President of the Libyan Senate in 1956.

He is literate in Arabic and a good tribal representative with sensible ideas.

Appointed a co-regent during the King's absence on a State visit to Turkey in 1956.

#### 86. Abu Bakr al Ismirli (Tripolitanian)

Comes from a well-known Tripoli family famous for the piety of its members. Was sent to Turkish schools in Tripoli and then to the Italian school which he completed just about the time of the Italian Occupation. He has also had instruction in Arabic language, literature, philology, &c., under



scholars such as Sheikhs Omar Meisawi, Othman Qajiji and Muhammad el Arabi.

He was sent to Rome on scholarship in 1911 together with Dr. Abdussalam al Busairi and the accountant Bashir al Busairi. In Rome he obtained a diploma in Accountancy and Economics, and returned in 1917 to be appointed accountant of the Department of Seized Property until 1919. He was transferred to the Chief Accountant's office at the Government headquarters until he entered a competition with thirteen Italians for the post of a municipal accountant which he won with great distinction. As a result he was appointed General Accountant at the Municipality in 1921 and remained until 1944 when he was appointed assistant to the Chief Accountant of the Municipality. He became Chief Accountant of the Municipality at the end of January 1953.

Appointed Nazir of Communications on July 5, 1953. Appointed Nazir of Finance December 1954. Not a very effective Nazir of Finance and was dropped 1955. Appointed to the Senate 18th September, 1955. Reappointed in 1956.

#### 87. Ali Salih Jaunda, M.B.E. (Cyrenaican)

Born 1900 in Benghazi, where he now lives. Belongs to the Karaghla Yedder tribe. Educated at the Turkish Primary School in Benghazi.

Joined the forces of Sayed Ahmad al Sharif and served under Nuri Pasha in fighting the Italians. Later settled in Alexandria, Egypt, as a merchant, where, upon the outbreak of war, he assisted in the formation of the Libyan Arab Force, in which he served as an officer. In 1944 he became Mudir of Al Abiar, and in 1945 Qaimaqam, Barce, where he remained until January 1948 when he was appointed Naib-Mutassarif, Benghazi. In June 1949 he became Mutassarif, Benghazi. Member of the National Congress until its disbandment in March 1950.

Appointed Director of the Interior, June 1954. Appointed Nazir of Agriculture 12th November, 1955. Appointed Minister of Defence 26th March, 1956. Has shown a very friendly attitude towards the British before and after becoming a Minister.

Experienced, not really intelligent but with abundant common sense, he is a practical man—especially good on tribal affairs. An antagonist of Omar Mansur Pasha, but loyal to the King. Decoration—M.B.E.

#### 88. Ali Assad Jirbi (Cyrenaican)

Born 1901 in Derna, belongs to the Tawajir tribe. Now lives in Benghazi. Educated in Turkey, later entered the service of the Italian Administration in Cyrenaica. Became a Mudir and subsequently a "Secretary for Arab Affairs."

Mayor of Derna during first and second British occupation. Counsellor to the Amir in Egypt during 1943. Superintendent of Education on return to Cyrenaica in 1944, followed by his appointment as Deputy Secretary for Development, British Military Administration. One of the two secretaries of the National Congress (disbanded in March 1950). Appointed Minister of Works and Communications in September 1949 upon formation of Cyrenaican Government. Appointed as representative for Cyrenaica on the Advisory Council to the United Nations Commissioner for Libya in April 1950.

In August 1950 he went to Geneva with the council and subsequently paid official visits to London and Paris. In October, at the United Nations Commissioner's special request, he attended the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly at Lake Success, and afterwards went to Washington. Commenced to make a name for himself in circles outside Libya and when the first Libyan Federal Government was formed in March 1951 he was appointed Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Also held portfolio of Health, but in a later reorganisation this was given to another member of the Government and Ali Jirbi took over the portfolio of Justice.

Relieved of his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs and appointed Minister of Defence on 24th December, 1951, on the declaration of the independence of Libya. This came as a great blow to him, but he was considered by both the King and the Prime Minister too ineffective as Foreign Minister to deal with the various Powers who had special interests in Libya.

He retained the same portfolio in the Saqisli Government which followed but, owing to ill-health, he was finally appointed on 23rd February, 1954, as a Minister Plenipotentiary *en disponibilité*. He was appointed as the first Libyan Minister to Turkey in June 1954 and left Libya to take up his appointment in July 1954.

Decorations: Order of Independence, 1st Class. Order of the Nile, 1st Class.

Experienced, capable and progressive, he stands at the head of the *intelligentsia* derived from the old Italian Administration. Little tribal standing or family influence, he is primarily a Government official. Fluent in Italian, French, Turkish and English. In political outlook a progressive Nationalist, personally ambitious and well disposed towards the British.

#### 89. Sulaiman al Jirbi (Cyrenaican)

Born in Derna, 1907. Member of the Tawajir tribe. Educated in Italian schools in Benghazi and Alexandria. From 1929 until 1932 he worked in an Italian bank in Alexandria.

After this he entered Italian Government service and in 1936 became Secretary for Arab Affairs at the Italian Consulate in Sollum, later transferring to Alexandria. While in Egypt he acted as an Italian agent and was made a Chevalier of the Italian Colonial Order of the Star of Italy. At the outbreak of war with Italy in 1940 he was sent, without much option, to Rome, where he was employed by the Ministry of Popular Culture as a translator and Arab propagandist. His broadcasts were of a moderate nature.

He returned to Cyrenaica in 1945, and in 1946 obtained a post as clerk in the Public Information Office, eventually rising to the position of administrative officer. In October 1950 he was appointed by the Amir to the Libyan Constituent Assembly as a delegate for Cyrenaica, and in December 1950 he became secretary of the delegation. Appointed Chief of the Prime Minister's Cabinet in December 1951. February 1952, appointed Director-General of the Libyan Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in November 1952.

A brother of Ali Jirbi, he is able and intelligent, primarily a civil servant rather than a politician. He speaks Greek and excellent Italian, English and French.

Decorations: Order of the Nile, 3rd Class. Order of Independence 2nd Class.

#### 90. Fuad Kaabazi (Tripolitanian)

Born 1920. Attended religious institutes. Later went to an Italian elementary and secondary school. Sub-editor of the Italian newspaper *Corriere di Tripoli*. Later appointed a teacher in the Arab secondary school. 1950, was given a special scholarship to study civil engineering in London and was attached to the Ealing Borough Council. On his return appointed to the Public Works Department, Tripoli. Later joined the Development and Stabilisation Agency, where he remained until September 1953, when he returned to the Public Works Department. On 27th February, 1954,



appointed Assistant Director of the Public Works Department. Represented Libya, March 1953, in the Cultural Exchange Conference of Mediterranean Countries and lectured on the influence of Arabic literature on Italian poetry. July 1953, represented Libya at the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference in Paris. July, appointed Nazir of Public Works.

Since his appointment as Nazir he has allowed himself to come under the influence of the Egyptian Deputy Controller of Works, and has shown an anti-British attitude with his British advisers.

Ceased to be Nazir September 1955; appointed Deputy Director of the Libyan Development Agency. He is rather full of his own importance.

#### 91. Salim al Qadi (Tripolitanian)

Born in Misurata about 1900. Not well educated but a merchant of good reputation.

In 1948 he was elected Mayor of Misurata and president of its Ahliya Court. In the same year he resigned as president of the court owing to pressure of work. April 1950, invited by the Chief Administrator to be a member of the Administrative Council, which resulted in his dismissal in July from the National Congress Party by Bashir Saadawi. 8th March, 1951, appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Tripolitanian Government and on 24th December, 1951, appointed Nazir of Agriculture and Health for Tripolitania. Relinquished the post of Nazir of Health in March 1953 but retained that of Nazir of Agriculture.

Relieved of his post September 3rd, 1953. Appointed Minister of National Economy 19th December, 1954. Appointed Minister of Communications 26th March, 1956. Although he is pleasant and is friendly towards the British, he has not proved a reliable Minister.

#### 92. Ali Karamanli (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1893. Recognised as head of the Karamanli family in the absence of Suleiman Karamanli, who was in Italy during the Italian régime. The latter died in Tripoli in 1945. This has always been a bone of contention between him and Tahir Karamanli his cousin, who in 1945 rather took his place as head of the family.

In 1938, resigned from Italian Government employment when he was required to take a qualifying examination. Employed by the Germans and later by us as contractor for finding labourers. In 1946 he was appointed Custodian of Italian Archives. September 1948, attempted to commit suicide by taking poison but fortunately saved his own life by taking milk after he had taken the poison. In 1951, appointed Controller of Antiquities. Appointed a Senator on March 18, 1952.

Elected Deputy President of the Senate September 1953. Has business connections with Abdullah Abid al Sanussi. Not re-elected in 1956.

He has taken a keen interest in committees set up for relief purposes and has done a certain amount of good work. He has a weak personality and is always in debt.

#### 93. Tahir Karamanli (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli, 16th October, 1916. Speaks good Italian and some Turkish. English and French. A member of one of the oldest and most highly respected families in Tripolitania. He is popular with all communities but his playboy habits tend to discredit him in the eyes of his Arab compatriots and leading personalities. Brother-in-law of Mahmud Muntassir, who is married to his sister. He is strongly pro-Italian. Has a good presence and the bearing and manners of an army officer. He is not politically-minded. He is a weak character, lacking the spirit of initiative and easily misled.

Educated in Arab schools in Tripoli. 1926, went

to Italy. 1927, was at Convitto Nazionale at Torino. 1930, attended a school at Tivoli. 1932, went to the Military College in Rome. 1936, attended Accademia di Modena (Infantry). 1939, commissioned as second lieutenant at the infantry school at Parma.

1939, returned to Tripoli for service with the Italian forces. The Italians made good use of his family connexions to influence Arab opinion in Libya during the second world war. January 1943, he remained behind when the Axis forces retreated from Libya, allegedly to work a clandestine military W/T network for the Axis. However, apart from an agent's report there was never any proof of this. He was interned by His Majesty's Government in March 1943.

December 1947, appointed magistrate at the Ahliya Courts, Tripoli. April 1948, appointed Secretary for Arab Affairs, Tripoli Province. Until 1948 he was president of the Arab Benevolent Society. His triumph in the 1948 municipal elections in Tripoli was exploited by the Italian press as an Italian political victory in Tripoli. February 1949, elected Mayor of Tripoli. April 1950, invited by the Chief Administrator to be a member of his Administrative Council. July 1950, he visited the United Kingdom on a course on County Council work. November 1950, chosen as a neutral Tripolitanian representative (Tripoli area) in the Libyan National Assembly but refused to sit for fear of becoming involved in local politics. This caused Mahmud Muntassir considerable annoyance.

He was appointed Minister of Health on March 31, 1951, at Mahmud Muntassir's instigation. On December 24, 1951, he relinquished this post and was appointed Vice-President of the Tripolitanian Administrative Council and Nazir of Justice. Resigned March 1953, but continued to hold the post of Mayor of Tripoli.

He has managed to ingratiate himself with the Palace and the King's entourage and has their support. In 1955, when the Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly censured him for failing to hold municipal elections, he managed to exculpate himself with the support of the Palace.

He is particularly friendly with Busairi Shalhi.

#### 94. Rajab bin Katu (Cyrenaican)

Elected a Deputy in 1956. Brother of the late Yusuf bin Katu. Director of the Libyan-Anglo Agencies, Ltd. Not a very savoury character, pro-Italian.

#### 95. Khalifa Khalid (Tripolitanian)

Born in Garian in 1895. Graduate of a Turkish military school in Constantinople.

Fought with Sulaiman al Baruni against the Italians and later turned against his countrymen and joined Colonel Graziani's forces in 1915. Fought in the Italian army during the Fezzan and Abyssinian campaigns. When he left the Italian army in 1939 he had attained the rank of captain. He was Graziani's liaison officer. One-time manager of Graziani's estate near Garian.

August 1941, appointed president of the Provincial WAWF Council; discharged in June 1947. Strongly pro-Italian. Intelligent and quiet. Actively spreads pro-Italian propaganda. His influence in 1949 was on the decline. Became a member of the National Congress. Tried to cause trouble in the Jebel area but failed. He now claims to support the Government.

#### 96. Muhammad Khalil (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1920. Educated in Tripoli elementary and Islamic schools. Under Italians was employed as teacher and translator.

After the British occupation was sub-editor of the *Tarabulus al Gharb* newspaper. In 1947 was appointed chief clerk of Tripoli Ahliya Court and in



December 1948 promoted to be president of Suq-al-Juma Ahliya Court. Transferred to Civil and Criminal Court in Tripoli. Appointed Assistant Attorney-General in the Court of Appeal. Appointed President of the Court of the First Instance, Tripoli. Appointed Nazir of Justice July 1954. Appointed President of the Supreme Court December 1954.

Is intelligent, calm and very capable. His legal judgments have been highly thought of. Pleasant and unflattering. Is one of the few self-made Tripolitarians who possess the quality of growing up with their jobs. Is interested in politics but is not a member of any political party.

#### 97. Ali Khirbish (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1916. His father was the chief of an Arab band which assisted Colonel Graziani in conquering the Arab rebels during the Italian occupation. At the beginning of the war published an appeal to all Arabs to fight with the Fascists.

In 1946 he was elected executive member of the Nationalist Party. Associates with Italians and pro-Italian Arabs. He is generally considered to be in the pay of the Italian Government. Member of the Arab Advisory Committee on relief. In 1948 he was elected to the Tripoli Municipal Council. 1951, appointed director to Libia Motors.

Appointed Deputy Director of Medical Services, Tripolitania, in April 1953.

Transferred to the State Property Department early 1954 as Deputy Director.

#### 98. Salih Khirbish (Tripolitanian)

Born Jadu, 10th August, 1910. Brother of Ali Khirbish. His father, Yussif Khirbish, was noted for his pro-Italian sympathies and actually presented Mussolini with the famous Sword of Islam when Mussolini visited Tripoli in 1938. He played an important role in leading the Berber bands who assisted General Graziani to defeat the Arab rebels.

One-time member of the Ahliya Courts. Was a member of the National Congress Party but resigned in May 1951. Appointed a Senator on 18th March, 1952. As he was not sure of Government support in being reappointed as a Senator in the 1956 elections, he stood as a Deputy for Jadu and was successful. He tends to support the Prime Minister in Parliament.

#### 99. Fathi Mansur al Kikhia (Cyrenaican)

Born 1905 in Benghazi, and belongs to the Karaghla tribe. A lawyer by profession. Son of Omar Mansur Pasha al Kikhia, former Prime Minister and leading Cyrenaican notable. Educated at the Ecole des Frères, Alexandria, between the years 1912-19. Later studied law in Paris, where he obtained his degree.

Returned to Egypt, where he practised law in Alexandria. In 1938 he married the daughter of an Egyptian notable, Mahmud Khaira Pasha. He spent short periods in Cyrenaica in 1939 and 1943.

In December 1947, as part of the Libyanisation programme, he was offered but declined the appointment of Deputy Legal Secretary to the British Administration. In April 1949 he also declined appointment as a member of the Cyrenaican delegation to Lake Success. In July 1949 he was appointed Prime Minister designate with portfolios of Justice and Education in the Cyrenaican Government and accompanied His Highness the Amir to London in the same month. Subsequently he went to France, from where he resigned his appointment in November 1949. Later he returned to Egypt. He reappeared on the Libyan scene on the declaration of independence and was appointed Minister of Justice and Education in December 1951. He

relinquished the latter portfolio in May 1952. Acted as Prime Minister on several occasions during Mahmud Muntassir's absence from Libya.

Following the resignation of the Muntassir Government he was not given a seat in the Saqisli Government. He was appointed as the first Libyan Minister to Washington, in May 1954. Transferred as Ambassador to Italy May 1955.

Fathi al Kikhia enjoys only limited popularity in Cyrenaica where many consider him to have become "Egyptianised" in conduct, character, manners and mode of living. He speaks fluent French.

Being a Cyrenaican he is inclined to give preferential treatment to Cyrenaican interests to the detriment of the other two provinces of Libya.

Order of Independence, 1st Class.

#### 100. Ramadan al Kikhia (Cyrenaican)

Born 1906 Benghazi. Son-in-law of Omar al Kikhia and cousin to Rashid Kikhia. Merchant by profession. Member of the National Association in Cyrenaica. Elected as a Deputy in the Federal Parliament, February 19, 1952.

Not re-elected in 1956.

#### 101. Rashid Mansur al Kikhia (Cyrenaican)

Born 1899 in Benghazi, where he now lives. Member of the Karaghla tribe. Brother of Omar Mansur Kikhia.

He was arrested by the Italians after the first British occupation, charged by them with activities in support of the British and sent to Italy for internment. Repatriated in 1946, his activities were for some time confined to his property interests. Recently he began to have political aspirations and became a member of the Benghazi Municipal Council. In June 1950 he was elected to the Assembly of Representatives as one of the members for Benghazi town. Appointed Nazir of Agriculture in May 1952. He showed little interest in his job, and the Nazirate of Agriculture was generally considered to be stagnant under his direction. Relieved of his post, August 11, 1953.

A shrewd and capable businessman with influence among the town notables, he is a supporter of the Sanussis and was nominated by the Amir as one of the Cyrenaican representatives on the Libyan Preparatory Committee. He was also President of the Legislative Assembly.

#### 102. Omar, Mansur al Kikhia (Cyrenaican)

Born 1879 in Benghazi, where he now lives. Head of the Karaghla tribe. Educated in Benghazi and Turkey.

In 1899 he took up his first official appointment as assistant private secretary to the Mutassarif of Benghazi, remaining as such until 1904 when he was appointed Qaimaqam (1st Grade) of Jalo. Held this post until 1907. After the establishment of the Ottoman Constitution in 1909 he was elected to represent Cyrenaica in the Ottoman Parliament in Constantinople.

Between 1912-18 he spent most of his time in Egypt. At first he assisted Sayid Ahmad Sharif who was directing resistance to the Italians, but later he collaborated and in 1920 he was appointed adviser to the Governor of Cyrenaica, De Martino. He played a big part in bringing about the Italo-Sanussi agreement at Al Abiar in June 1921, which amended the Al Rejima accord.

With the death of De Martino in 1922 Omar Pasha fell from favour and then began a series of exiles which lasted from 1923 to 1945.

After his return to Benghazi in 1945 he was appointed Rais of the Amir's Diwan (Grand Chamberlain). In 1948, on behalf of the Amir, he undertook a special journey to the U.N. Assembly in Paris, the object being to offset the influence of



Bashir Saadawi who had been active on the part of the Libya Liberation Committee in Egypt.

In November 1949 he was appointed Prime Minister of the Government of Cyrenaica. In March 1950 he resigned at the suggestion of the Amir and as a result of local opposition to his arbitrary and out-of-date methods. He was awarded a pension for his services by the Cyrenaican Government. Appointed to the Senate and nominated as President on March 18th, 1952. This appointment caused the then Prime Minister Mahmud Muntassir, considerable embarrassment. In June 1952 he took up a libel case against Umar Ashab, the editor of the now defunct *Al Manar* newspaper, lost the case and was ordered to pay Court expenses £L.750. He was suddenly dismissed from his office as President of the Senate in October 1954, owing partly to his opposition to the Libyan-American Agreement and partly to his strong criticisms of the extravagant security measures taken after the murder of Ibrahim Shalhi. He now appears to exercise little political influence and is completely out of favour with the Palace.

Awarded the title of Pasha by Sultan Abdel Hamid in 1909. Speaks Italian and a little French and Turkish. He is disliked by the more progressive townsmen on account of his autocratic character.

Decorations: C.B.E. The Grand Cordon (awarded by the Italians to only one other Cyrenaican). Knight of the Grand Cross (awarded by the Italians to no other Libyan). Numerous Ottoman decorations.

#### 103. Ahmad Kizza (Cyrenaican)

Elected President of the Cyrenaican Legislative Assembly. Brother of Nasr al Kizza. Leading member of the Awagir tribe.

#### 104. Nasr al Kizza (Cyrenaican)

Appointed Nazir of Health in 1954 and at the end of the year exchanged this post for that of Nazir of Communications. He was appointed Nazir of the Interior on March 23, 1955. He was previously Mutassarif of Agedabia. He has no administrative ability but is the most influential sheikh of the Awagir tribe who are the strongest numerically in Cyrenaica and live near Benghazi.

#### 105. Abdul Majid Kubar (Tripolitanian)

Born 1909 in Garian. A member of a leading family in Garian. His father was executed by the Italians for treason. Brother-in-law of Mahmud Muntassir. Looked upon as pro-Italian.

May 1944, sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment for illegal distribution of ration cards. Released after pardon in May 1946. At one time a member of the United National Front Party, from which he resigned in 1948. Appointed inspector-general of the Independence Party in 1949. Independence Party delegate to Cairo in September 1949 to contact the Arab League during the United Nations discussions on the future of Libya. November 1950, elected Garian representative to the Libyan National Assembly. Appointed president of the Tripolitania Enterprises Company in succession to Mahmud Muntassir who in 1951 became Prime Minister. Elected Deputy for Garian East to the Libyan National Assembly in February 1952. Appointed president of the Chamber of Deputies on 8th March, 1952.

Re-appointed President of the Chamber of Deputies in October 1952.

Handled the Deputies ably. 26 April, 1955, was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Communications in the Federal Government, and relinquished his appointment as President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Re-appointed President of the Chamber of Deputies January 1956. He visited the United Kingdom in the late summer 1955.

Re-elected as a Deputy in the 1956 elections for Garian. He is critical of bin Halim, who he believes has tried to eliminate Muntassir influence in Tripolitania. Appointed co-regent in August 1956 during the absence of King Idris in Turkey.

#### 106. Rassim Kubar (Tripolitanian)

Born Garian 1890. Uncle to Mahmud Muntassir. Family is recognised as quite influential in the Jebel area of Tripolitania, although this influence has suffered to a great extent as a result of Rassim Kubar's being a member of the Independence Party, which is pro-Italian. Under the Turks he was a civil secretary and under the Italians was chief of the gendarmerie although in the early days he was reported to have taken an active part fighting the Italians. For this he was condemned to death but was later pardoned.

In 1937 he returned to Tripoli from Italy. He became politically active in 1946 when he joined the United National Front and became the party representative for Garian. In 1947 he was appointed Arab adviser in Garian Province. In August 1948 he, along with Salam Muntassir, was expelled by Bashir al Saadawi from the United National Front. In May 1949 he joined the Independence Party and was elected to the executive committee. In September he led the Independence Party's delegation to the United Nations. In November 1949 he was nominated president of the Garian branch of the Independence Party. He returned from Lake Success in December 1949. He was in contact with the Italian representative in Tripoli in 1949 and was sympathetic to the Italians regaining influence here but changed his views to support the Muntassir Government. Appointed a Senator on 18th March, 1952.

Re-appointed to the Senate in the 1956 elections.

#### 107. Al Sunni al Lali (Tripolitanian)

Elected Deputy for Sabratha and Agelat Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

Re-elected in the 1956 elections.

#### 108. Ismail bin Lamin (Tripolitanian)

Born Misurata 1907. Educated in Quranic schools, Tripolitania, and later in Italian schools.

Active in commerce. Elected president of the Misurata Wholesale Trade Company 1943. Member of the Ahliya Court and Municipal Council. Chairman of the Tripolitanian Chamber of Commerce. Member of the executive committee of the National Congress Party. Head of the Tripoli Chamber of Commerce delegation to the Bari Fair, September 1953.

Elected Deputy for Misurata (Zaviet Mahjub) Constituency on 19th February, 1952. Appointed Minister of State without Portfolio in the Saqisli Government on 17th February, 1954. Went out of office when the Government resigned on 8th April, 1954, and continued as chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. His appointment as Minister of State caused a certain amount of criticism.

Appointed Minister of Finance March 1956. Has so far proved to be quite ineffective as a Minister, all decisions being taken by the Permanent Under-Secretary in consultation with the Prime Minister.

#### 109. Salim bin Lamin (Tripolitanian)

Born 1926. His family is middle class with limited financial means. He is a moderate Nationalist with a broad and friendly outlook and not afraid of speaking his mind. He joined the Tripolitanian Police Force on 3rd March, 1944, as



a constable and worked his way through the ranks. He was appointed a Sub-Inspector on the 1st April, 1949, Assistant Superintendent 1st May, 1951, Superintendent 1st May 1953, and Senior Superintendent 1st February 1956. He was appointed Commissioner of Police 28th May, 1956.

He attended a special course in the United Kingdom for six months 1950-51 and also attended a six months' course in the United States 1955-56.

The fact that he was promoted over the heads of four of his colleagues has caused criticism within police circles and may jeopardise his position.

#### 110. Awad Lanqi (Cyrenaican)

Born in 1895 in Benghazi and belongs to the Shweikhat tribe. Had an elementary education at the Kuttab School in Benghazi. He is primarily a merchant and business man who, together with his brother of Yusif Lanqi, Mayor of Benghazi, became rich during the war by selling sheep to all the opposing armies. After the war they founded a firm, Cyrenaican Enterprises, which got into considerable financial difficulties and rapidly lost to Sayid Abul Qassim's company the agencies which it formerly held.

At the beginning of 1950 Awad Lanqi first entered public affairs when he became president of the Cyrenaican Chamber of Commerce. Later in the same year he was elected to the Cyrenaican Assembly of Representatives and became its vice-president. Appointed to the Senate on 18th March, 1952.

He is loyal to the Sanussi Crown but is bitterly critical of Mustafa bin Halim. His son was married to the daughter of Mahmud Muntassir, former Libyan Prime Minister, and became his private secretary.

Was not reappointed to the Senate in March 1956, probably owing to his quarrel with Mustafa bin Halim. His son resigned from the Ministry of Defence and is now in business with his father.

#### 111. Yusif Lanqi (Cyrenaican)

Born 1890 in Benghazi. Member of the Shweikhat tribe. Related by marriage to Omar Mansur al Kikhia. Wealthy merchant, having made a fortune out of livestock contracts with the Italians during the war and subsequently from sheep exports.

Influential member of the former National Congress Administrative Committee. Appointed Mayor of Benghazi in October 1949. Subsidised Cyrenaican delegation to the session in September 1949 of the United Nations at Lake Success. He was reprimanded by the Amir, having to some extent encouraged the malcontents who staged a demonstration against the Government in Benghazi in July 1951. February 1952 suspended from office as Mayor of Benghazi as a result of allegations of abusive influence prior to the general elections.

Re-appointed Mayor of Benghazi in January 1953.

A supporter of the Sanussis. Commands respect among the Arab notables and has influence with the King. Has a reputation for generosity in matters affecting national aspirations. Displays only limited intelligence in political affairs, but has a talent for furthering his own interests. Is bitterly opposed to Mustafa bin Halim's plans for a unitary form of government.

#### 112. Salim bin Ammar Lataif (Tripolitanian)

Born in Zuara in 1921. Educated in elementary schools.

Employed by the Education Department but resigned in 1945. Since then employed as clerk at the Corti Distillery in Tripoli. Was a member of the Nationalist Party but left it when the policy of

its president, Mustafa Mizran, showed signs of compromise with Italy. January 1946, signatory to a petition protesting against the Arab Advisory Council's resolution asking for a British mandate. A prominent member of the Youth Congress formed in April 1949. In May 1949 took an active part in organising the demonstrations against the Bevin-Storza Plan.

An extreme Nationalist and agitator whose main interest is creating trouble for any foreign Power in Libya. Has been imprisoned a number of times for taking part in illegal demonstrations.

Has contact with the Soviet Embassy in Libya.

#### 113. Kilani al Lataiwish (Cyrenaican)

Born in 1915. Lives in Agedabia and is Mustashar of the Magharba tribe. Son of Saleh Pasha al Ataiwish who was Governor of Agedabia and Sirtica in Turkish times, and a prominent leader in the resistance movement to the Italians. A member of the National Congress before its disbandment in March 1950. Nominated by the Amir in October 1950 as one of the members of the Cyrenaican delegation to the Libyan Constituent Assembly.

A supporter of the Sanussis, his influence in his tribal area springs rather from his family connexions than from his own personality.

#### 114. Sanussi Lataiwish (Cyrenaican)

A member of the Magharba tribe. Married into the family of Hamid al Abaidi. Served in the Libyan Arab Force.

Became a police officer in Cyrenaica and was regarded as one of its most competent and promising officers. Appointed to the Senate on March 18, 1952, but was forced to resign the appointment as it was found that he was too young to be a Senator. His appointment to the Senate was generally regarded as a plot on the part of the late Ibrahim Shalhi to ensure that there was no rival to his son-in-law, Mahmud Bu Qatin, for the post of Deputy Commissioner of Police.

His removal from the police force put him in a bitter frame of mind, but he was later granted a commission in the Libyan army and showed zeal and efficiency in selecting recruits. Given command of the 1st Libyan Regiment. Visited the United Kingdom in 1952, 1953 and 1954. Promoted to Colonel 9th August, 1954. Has an inflated sense of his own importance.

Promoted to Brigadier June 1956 and made Deputy Chief of Staff. Is at loggerheads with the Iraqi Chief of Staff to the Libyan Army, Brigadier Abdul Qadir Nazimi. He has, however, remained favourably disposed towards us and is inclined to be anti-Egyptian. According to Sadiq al Rida, he would support the latter as a successor to the throne.

#### 115. Salim Latrash (Tripolitanian)

Born in Homs about 1895. A well-known merchant of good reputation. Honest, peace-loving and has democratic leanings. Principal characteristic is trading ability. His brother, Bashir Latrash, is Mayor of Homs.

In 1948 he was appointed president of the Ahliya Court of Homs.

#### 116. Abdulla bin Maatugh (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1893. Mayor of Beni Ulid. President of the Independence Party branch in Beni Ulid. He is an Italophile who was associated with the "Banda" force which went to Benghazi to help the Italians against the Senussi.

In November 1950 he was chosen as an Independence Party representative for the Beni Ulid area to the Libyan National Assembly. Stood as a National



Congress supporter during the elections in 1952 following his resignation from the Independence Party, but was defeated.

Not to be trusted; will follow whoever pays him the most.

**117. Yasin al Mabri (Cyrenaican)**

Born about 1892. Lives in Tobruk and is Omda of the Obeidat Mariam and Mayor of Tobruk. A Bedouin Sheikh with considerable influence in the Tobruk area owing to his good tribal standing and the money which he has made out of desert salvage since the war. A leader in the resistance to the Italian colonisation. Strong and determined personality without much learning or intellect. A supporter of the Sanussi who used to support the Ahmad Sharif branch of the family but has now ceased to do so. He is believed to have complained to the King on various occasions about alleged intrigues by individual Englishmen.

Appointed a Senator on the 18th March, 1952.

Not reappointed to the Senate in March 1956, probably because his quarrelsome nature has made him too many enemies.

**118. Muhammad Taufiq Mabruk (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tunis in 1917. Studied in local Quranic schools. Cousin of Mustafa Faiq al Mabruk. Came to Tripoli with his father in 1934 but is still a French subject.

Was a member of the Nationalist Party but left it to assist the Fiqih Hassan brothers in forming the Free National Bloc. Was arrested in February 1948 when he incited hooligans to cause disorder, and released on 15th April on his resigning from the Free National Bloc and giving an undertaking to abandon politics. In July 1948 he violated his undertaking and rejoined the party as secretary-general. In May 1949 took an active part in demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan. Deported to Tunis in June 1949 for reasons of public security. In September 1949 he attempted to return to Tripolitania but was arrested and redeported. In September 1950 he was reported to be in Egypt, where he is said to have been promised help by Abdurrahman Azzam. Returned to Tripolitania, May 1953. Ali Fiqih Hassan tried to persuade him to take up politics which he was reluctant to do for fear of being deported.

He is an ardent Arab Nationalist and agitator against all non-Moslem Powers. Regards himself as a journalist and talks on foreign affairs with assurance.

**119. Mahmud al Arabi al Magdud (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli about 1901. Began his political career in 1936 as an Italian secret agent and performed the pilgrimage twice in this capacity, watching Tripolitanian pilgrims. Opened a grocer's shop on the proceeds.

In contact with Habib Bourguiba, Destour leader in Tunisia, when he passed through Tripoli in May 1945. Ex-member of the executive committee of the Hizb al Watani. Under arrest after anti-Jewish riots in November 1945. Signed the petition of 10th January, 1946, against the Arab Advisory Council's resolution asking for a British mandate.

Took an active part in all the National Congress Party demonstrations and is an irresponsible, dangerous trouble-maker.

**120. Bashir Mghairbi (Cyrenaican)**

Born about 1922. Member of the Karaghla tribe. Belongs to a good merchant family. Educated at local schools. Speaks Italian.

Carries on business as a merchant in Benghazi. Has influence among the youth of the towns. Took prominent part in organising a "Boy Scout" section

which was trained in subversive politics and terrorist tactics rather than Baden Powell's ideals. Leading and extremist member of the National Club who has been foremost in criticism of the British Administration.

In contact with the Moslem Brotherhood Association in Egypt, having been introduced by three members in exile in Benghazi. Is interested in business connexions with the Egypto-German Promoting Office in Cairo. His propensities as a rabble-rouser were manifested in the demonstrations in Benghazi in July 1951, and for his part therein he received a minor sentence with stay of execution. Political editor of *Al Difa* and repeatedly attacks Western imperialism in his articles. He is on relatively good terms with members of the American Consulate. Made every effort to sabotage the Anglo-Libyan Treaty. Is in contact with the Egyptian Embassy. A shrewd and fanatical Libyan Nationalist. Is privately critical of the Sanussi family.

**121. Ahmad Rafiq al Mahdawi (Cyrenaican)**

Born about 1904 in Benghazi. Member of the Shweikhat tribe. Educated in the Ottoman school in Benghazi and then in Alexandria when his family emigrated there in 1913.

Held a post in Cyrenaica under the Italians in the 1920's but spent practically the entire time between the two wars as a merchant in Turkey. Returned from Turkey to settle down in Benghazi in 1946. Shortly after his return he got in touch with National Association elements, and is regarded as having been a prominent member of the National Association and one of their inner committee. Imprisoned for a short time after the July 1951 demonstrations. Appointed to the Senate on 18th March, 1952. Made every effort to sabotage the Anglo-Libyan Treaty.

He is by way of being a poet and enjoys a certain popularity with the younger and more progressive elements in Benghazi. Is in opposition to the Government and critical of the King.

Reappointed to the Senate in the 1956 elections.

**122. Husain Abdul Malik (Tripolitanian)**

Born Misurata, 1885. Lived in exile from 1924 at Al Hammam, Egypt, during the Italian régime in Libya.

He helped to recruit Libyans for the Libyan Arab Force in 1940. Was one of the Sheikhs who was present at the meeting called by Sayed Idris al Sanussi, now King of Libya, on 9th August, 1940, which decided on the formation of the Libyan Arab Force. Appointed a Senator on 18th March, 1952.

Trade is his main interest and politics take second place. Staunch supporter of the Sanussis.

Was not reappointed to the Senate in 1956.

**123. Muhammad Mansuri (Tripolitanian)**

Berber. Born in Zuara about 1895. Head of the Qabila Awlad Mansur but forced to resign in 1948. Owns property and is a rich merchant. Was well disposed towards the British Administration.

President of the Nationalist Party branch in Zuara for a short time. Exercises considerable influence over a section of Zuara population. Spent a considerable amount of his capital on furthering National Congress activities, but following Bashir Saadawi's dictatorial attitude he refused to recognise Saadawi as leader of the National Congress and resigned in 1950. Saadawi made several abortive attempts to win him back. Supports the present Libyan Government. November 1950, chosen as National Congress and Hizb el Watani representative for Tripolitania, Zuara district, on the Libyan National Assembly. Appointed a Senator on 18th March, 1952.

Reappointed to the Senate in 1956.



**124. Dr. Giacomo Marchino** (Tripolitanian)

Italian. Born in 1889 at Borgo S. Martino, Alessandria, Italy. Lawyer.

Came to Tripoli in 1919 and became secretary-general of the Tripoli Municipality. He resigned this post in 1926. Subsequent to his resignation he held various posts, among which were that of court assessor and president of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture. At the time of the British occupation he was Mayor of Tajura where he has an estate. A member of Dr. Errico Cibelli's Leftist Political Association for the Progress of Libya. He resigned from this on the instructions of the Italian Government when he was appointed Minorities representative to the United Nations Advisory Council for Libya in April 1950. Represented Tripolitania on the Committee of 21. Appointed Honorary Norwegian Consul, March 31, 1953.

A highly cultured, honest, efficient person, a good orator and highly esteemed writer. An excellent organiser in administrative, technical and financial affairs. His popularity is unquestionable.

**125. Yahya bin Massud** (Tripolitanian)

Elected Deputy for Nalut Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

Re-elected as a Deputy for the same constituency in the 1956 elections.

**126. Muhammad Mayyit** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1895. A well-to-do merchant. Ambitious but selfish, generally respected, not of high intellectual capacity.

Executive member of the United National Front. A close associate of the Mufti. March 1947, member of the Arab Advisory Committee on relief. In June 1947 he was appointed a member of the Awqaf Council in Tripoli. In the same year he was a member of the Tripolitanian delegation to negotiate with the Cyrenaican Congress for a united Libyan State. In 1948 he played a prominent part in expelling pro-Italian members from the United National Front. Financed the activities of the Libyan Liberation Committee in Tripoli. In May 1949 he played a prominent part in demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan. April 1950, invited by the Chief Administrator to become a member of the Administrative Council. 8th March, 1951, appointed Minister of Public Works in the newly-created Tripolitanian Government. 24th December, 1951, appointed Nazir of Public Works for Tripolitania when Libya became independent. Took over the Nazirate of Finance temporarily following the dismissal of the Nazir on June 16, 1953. Relations between him and the Governor, Sadiq Muntassir, were very strained and finally he was invited to resign in June 1954 but refused. He was dismissed in July 1954 and seems to have retired from political activity.

**127. Husain Yusuf bin Maziq** (Cyrenaican)

Born in 1916 in Cyrene. Belongs to the Barassa tribe. At present living in Benghazi. Educated at the Italian school, Cyrene. Literate in Arabic and Italian.

Entered service of the Italian Administration in 1930 and held various secretarial posts, reaching the rank of Secretary for Arab Affairs in 1939. Appointed Mudir of Apollonia in 1941 and later in the same year Mudir of Cyrene. He held this post throughout successive occupations by Allied and Axis forces, and until 1945. Then transferred as Mudir of Tocra. Under the Libyanisation scheme he was appointed Naib-Mutasarrif, Cyrene, in 1947, thereby becoming the first Libyan to take charge of a sub-district under the British Administration

(1947-48). In February 1948 he became Naib-Mutasarrif, Jebel district. In September 1949 he was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Forests in the new Cyrenaican Government, and in March 1950 he was transferred to the post of Minister of Interior. Appointed Wali of Cyrenaica in May 1952.

He is trustworthy, tactful, and a competent official who co-operates well with the British and is completely loyal to the King. He proved to be somewhat weak under Saqisli's leadership, but later acquired much greater stature and is now far and away the most influential man in Cyrenaica. He is opposed to Mustafa bin Halim's plans for a unitary form of government. His relations with the Sharif branch of Sanussi family are still good.

Mustafa bin Halim has made several attempts to unseat him but without success.

**128. Hadi Mishairgi** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1911. He originally came from Sfax, Tunisia, and remained a French subject until 1939, when he took Italian citizenship. A merchant and property owner.

Confined to his house following anti-Jewish riots in November 1945. Member of the Nationalist Party. Was in correspondence with the Ikhwan el Muslimeen in 1946. January 1946, signatory to a petition protesting against the Arab Advisory Council's decision to ask for a British mandate. Elected president of the Farmers' Association for the year 1948. Represented Tripolitania at the Agricultural Conference held in Algiers in 1948. Took an active part in the May 1949 demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan. 1951, went into the hotel business and rented the Del Mehari. 1953, rented the Grand Hotel, for which he has been given a concession for nine years.

Corresponds with prominent persons who live abroad and are interested in the Arab and Islamic causes. A trouble-maker of Left-wing tendencies.

**129. Yusif Mishairgi** (Tripolitanian)

Born 1910 in Tripoli. Was a French-Tunisian subject but applied for Italian citizenship about 1940.

Assessor at Italian Civil Courts. One of the signatories to the petition of 13th January, 1946, protesting against the Arab Advisory Council's resolution asking for a British mandate. Was a member of the Kutla Party but resigned in November 1946 after a disagreement with the executive committee. In December 1946 he joined the Egypto-Tripolitanian Union Party and was elected vice-president and treasurer. He spent a good deal of his private capital in furthering the party aims, without success. In January 1951 he became editor of the party's newspaper, *Liwa al Hurriya*, which was financed by Egypt. The paper was anti-British Administration and xenophobic. On 13th March, 1951, he took part in an illegal demonstration against the new Government, and for this was deported to Tunis. He was allowed to return to Tripoli 3rd September, 1951, after the late Grand Qadi had guaranteed his good behaviour. He has since abstained from politics.

**130. Ali Missallati** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli about 1920. Studied in Cairo but did not finish his course.

Came to Tripoli in 1948 as secretary to the Libyan Liberation Committee and correspondent of *Al Ahram* newspaper. His dispatches to his paper were affected by his personal feelings and were most inaccurate. He took an active part in the May 1949 demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan. Member of the National Congress Party. 1952, given employment by the Libyan Government as an



accountant in the Public Works Department and now works for the Tripolitanian Agricultural Department. Believed to have been paid by the Egyptian Embassy at one time. An unpleasant character who should not be trusted.

**131. Hadi al Missallati** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Missallata about 1910. Graduated from Al Azhar University in Cairo and is now living in Egypt.

Strongly opposed to the Sanussi Amirate. Visited Tripoli with the Libyan Liberation Committee in 1948 but obtained little support from the public. Close friend of Mansur Qaddara and anti-Saadawi.

Elected as a member of the Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly, April 1954.

**132. Mahmud Missallati** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli about 1899. Educated in Quranic schools. Son of an ex-Mufti of Libya, and rival to the present one. Attended religious institute, 1911 to 1918. Appointed secretary in the Sharia Court. 1920, gave religious instruction. He left for Egypt to further his religious studies and when he returned he was appointed teacher at the Ahmed Pasha college. 1935, teacher in the Higher Islamic School until 1940. 1945, headmaster of the Merkazia School, Tripoli. 1949, member of the National Congress Party. An executive member of the Nationalist Party and a leading member of the Arab Cultural Club. 19th March, 1951, appointed to the National Assembly. 1951, supervisor-general of elections. March 1952, appointed Nazir of Education for Tripolitania.

In March 1953 he relinquished the post of Nazir of Education following numerous resignations in the Education Department as a result of his unpopularity, and was appointed Nazir of Health. Relieved of this post, July 1953, as he was not acceptable to the new Wali Sadiq Muntassir. 3rd February, 1954, appointed as Counsellor to the Libyan Supreme Court. Re-appointed as Nazir of Justice April 1955. Quite ineffective.

**133. Mustafa Mizran** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli, 15th March, 1897. Linked with the Karamanli and Muntassir families by marriage. Speaks Italian and Turkish. He is able and ambitious but of elementary education. His opinion is worth having if free from personal enmity.

Served in the Turkish army during the 1914-18 war. Returned to Tripoli and voluntarily co-operated with the Italians.

In 1936 he was appointed to the Municipal Council. In 1941 he was made director of the Arab Arts and Crafts School. In October 1943 he was appointed to the Department of Education. Arrested after the November 1945 riots. Violently anti-Jewish. In 1946 he was a member of the United National Front. He left this party to preside over the Nationalist Party and is still its president. In March 1948 he was elected president of the Palestine Defence Committee in Tripoli. Until 1948 Mizran had considerable ascendancy over the educated elements in Tripoli, but now they look on him with much suspicion. In 1948 he severed his connexion with the Libyan Liberation Committee.

He took part in the May 1949 demonstrations to celebrate the rejection of the Bevin-Sforza Plan. National Congress member of the Tripolitanian delegation to the United Nations in September 1949 and a staunch supporter of Bashir Saadawi, although the latter had no trust in him. In March 1950 appointed Tripolitanian representative to the United Nations Advisory Council for Libya. He tried to undermine the British Administration in this capacity and was very much under the Egyptian delegates' influence on the council. He was asked

to resign his post as director of the Arts and Crafts School the same year. 19th February, 1952, elected Member of Parliament for Tripoli Centre Constituency. Opposed the Anglo-Libyan Treaty.

Has continued to oppose the Government in Parliament, although his influence has steadily grown weaker.

He was not re-elected in the 1956 elections.

**134. Sharif Ali bin Muhammad** (Fezzan)

November 1950 appointed Fezzan representative to the Libyan National Assembly. Appointed to the Senate on 18th March, 1952.

Reappointed to the Senate in 1956.

**135. Mansur bin Muhammad** (Fezzan)

November 1950 appointed a member of the Libyan National Assembly as a Fezzan representative. Elected (unopposed) Deputy for Ghat (Sedentary) and Ghadames Constituency in the Fezzan on 19th February, 1952.

Not re-elected in 1956.

**136. Ahmad Muhammad Mukhtar** (Cyrenaican)

Born about 1910. Belongs to the Minifa tribe. Ex-Libyan Arab Force officer. Nephew of famous Sanussi rebel leader, Omar al Mukhtar.

Mainly by reason of popular esteem for his uncle he was appointed in 1946 as Mudir of Jerdes al Abid, promoted and transferred as Naib-Mutasarrif Agedabia, in October 1949, and then in 1950 appointed Naib-Mutasarrif of Barce. Transferred to Sidi Raffa in 1951 as Naib-Mutasarrif. Transferred to the post of Mutasarrif of Tobruk in June 1954. Was accused of favouring his own tribe in a dispute between them and the Abaidat tribe. As a result was transferred to the post of Mutasarrif of Agedabia at the end of 1955.

A supporter of the Sanussis. Conscientious and capable but of only limited administrative capacity. His chief ability lies in his capacity for handling tribal affairs, in which field he makes the most of the general respect for his family name.

**137. Mahmud bin Ahmad Muntassir** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Misurata in 1900. Nephew of Salim Muntassir. Educated in Tripoli and in Italy. Speaks Italian and some French and English.

Co-operated with the Italian Government to the fullest extent. During the Italian occupation he was the leader of the Arab Fascist group.

In 1943 he was appointed member of the Chief Administrator's Arab Advisory Council and signed its resolution in January 1946 calling for British trusteeship. In 1946 he was a member of the United National Front, from which he resigned after his uncle's (Salim Muntassir) dismissal in 1948. In 1947 he became a member of the Libyan Liberation Committee and accompanied the late Tahir al Murayaid to Cairo to see Sayid Idris, now King of Libya. In 1948 he was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce in Tripoli. His advice was frequently sought by the British Administration.

In 1949 he resigned the managership of the Awqaf to go into business.

Although he took no part in the May 1949 demonstrations to celebrate rejection of the Bevin-Sforza Plan, he worked behind the scenes. He visited the United Kingdom in August 1949 after Sayid Idris's departure from the United Kingdom.

In April 1950 he was invited by the Chief Administrator to become a member of his Administrative Council, and was elected deputy chairman. In November 1950 he was appointed a non-party Tripolitanian representative in the Libyan National Assembly.



On March 8, 1951, he was appointed Prime Minister of the Tripolitanian Government and on March 29 he was appointed Prime Minister of the Federal Government as well.

Visited London in September 1951 for discussions with the Foreign Office. Visited Italy and France in June 1952 on holiday.

Attended the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth as official representative of the United Kingdom of Libya.

1953, he remained on in London to negotiate the final draft of the Anglo-Libyan Treaty. He made several efforts to resign because of continued interference on the part of the Palace in the affairs of State which he considered to be his own responsibility. He tried hard to persuade King Idris into accepting his advice on political matters, but failed because of Ibrahim Shalhi's superior influence with the monarch. His resignation which had been held in abeyance since September 1953 was finally accepted in February 1954. Appointed as the first Libyan Ambassador to London, July 1954.

Mahmud is the most interesting member of the Muntassir family. He is a thinking reed which bent before the Fascist wind with the same flexibility as it bent before the more gentle breeze of the British occupation. With this flexible policy he aims at safeguarding the power and influence of his family. He is a well-balanced patriot in spite of the rumours that spread from time to time about his pro-Italian activities. A strong supporter of King Idris who holds him in high esteem. A capable administrator and one who has his country's interests at heart. He is well disposed towards Britain. Although he was on friendly terms with Bashir Saadawi when the latter first returned to Tripoli in 1947, their relations became strained following Mahmud's resignation from the United National Front in 1948. Owing to the special interest shown in Mahmud as the most likely person to become Libya's first Prime Minister, Bashir Saadawi became one of his most violent opponents. Mahmud was responsible for issuing the final order for Bashir Saadawi's expulsion from Libya on February 22, 1952. Whilst his relations with bin Halim have remained outwardly good, he is very critical of the latter's pro-Egyptian policy.

Decorations: Order of Muhamed Ali al Sanussi, 1st Class; Grand Cordon Ismail.

### 138. Sadiq al Muntassir (Tripolitanian)

Born in Misurata in 1910. Educated in Tripoli and Italy.

Under the Italians he was the only Arab in the Secretariat. In 1939 he was appointed Secretary for Arab Affairs in Homs. In 1947 he was promoted to Administrative Assistant and later to Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Provinces. 24th December, 1951, appointed Nazir of Communications for Tripolitania.

Appointed Wali of Tripolitania on June 13, 1953, to replace Fadil bin Zikri. After his appointment as Wali he made a large number of enemies because of his dictatorial methods. The dissolution of the Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly and the dismissal of a number of Nazirs helped to build up opposition to him. Despite the criticism against him and the frequent rumours of his impending dismissal he managed to survive as Governor for a considerable time. Although he adopted an anti-European attitude when he first took office he became remarkably pro-British and equally anti-Egyptian towards the end of his tenure of office. But for his megalomania he would prove a capable administrator. Relieved of his post as Governor of Tripolitania December 1954, and appointed as Libyan Ambassador designate to the United States. He actually left to take up his new appointment in May 1955.

Decorated by King Idris with the 1st Class Order of Idris prior to his departure. He is bureaucratic and illiberal by temperament.

Appointed as Ambassador to Egypt June 1956 and presented his credentials in August. He is critical of Mustafa bin Halim, but professes extreme loyalty to the King. Because of his uncertain temperament he must be handled with care. He can be won over if given a little attention, but is a dangerous enemy.

### 139. Salam Muntassir (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1880 in Misurata. Recognised head of the Muntassir family. Uncle of Mahmud Muntassir.

Under the Turkish Government was employed as Mudir of Tarhuna.

Under the Italians he held the post of Mudir of Sirte and Taworga. Later he was of use to them at the time of the occupation of Misurata in June 1912 when he accompanied General Camerana to the area, and his shrewd advice and diligence were invaluable in persuading the people of Misurata to surrender. For these efforts he was rewarded with the post of Qaimaqam of Misurata in October 1912. He later resigned this post and after failing to obtain that of Regional Commissioner in Misurata he retired to Tripoli, where he spread pro-Sanussi propaganda and criticism of the Italian Government's methods. Subsequently repented of his attitude and returned to the Italians, who welcomed him back.

In June 1939 he was nominated Adviser for Arab Affairs and held this post until after the British occupation, when he was made a member of the Chief Administrator's Arab Advisory Council. He was dismissed in July 1944, after which he lost much of his influence.

In 1945 he played a valuable rôle in helping to re-establish friendly relations between Jews and Arabs following the anti-Jewish riots of 1945. Signatory to the Arab Advisory Council's resolution in favour of a British trusteeship in 1946. In the same year he was elected president of the United National Front.

In 1948 his third offer for British trusteeship and recognition of his claim to represent the territory were both rejected by the Administration. He then established secret contacts with Italian agents and was dismissed from the United National Front. In May 1949 he took no part in demonstrations to celebrate the rejection of the Bevin-Sforza Plan. In July 1949 he formed, under Italian stimulus, the Independence Party designed to further Italian political activity under the cover of a United and Independent Libya programme opposed to the Senussi Amirate.

Appointed Vice-President of the Senate on March 8, 1952, but was not re-elected as such in 1953. Since then he has not been politically active.

He used to be prepared to co-operate with any foreign Power provided that the prestige of his family and his financial interests are safeguarded. He had ambitions of becoming Prime Minister of Libya or at least the King's representative in Tripolitania. He received large sums of money secretly from the Italian Government.

### 140. Bubakir abu Naamah (Tripolitanian)

Born 1905 in Tarhuna. Under the Italians was a teacher in the Arab school and secretary of the Municipality of Tarhuna. August 1948, Mayor of Tarhuna. February 1950, president of the Tarhuna branch of the Istiqlal Party. November 1950, Independence Party representative for Tarhuna area to the Libyan National Assembly. Elected Deputy for Tarhuna East Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

Appointed Minister of Finance in the Federal Government on April 29, 1953. Appointed as



Minister of Education on September 20, 1953. When the Muntassir Government resigned he was not given a seat in the Saqisli Government.

Re-elected as a Deputy in the 1956 elections. A staunch Italophile, born intriguer and trouble-maker. Not to be trusted.

Decorations: Order of Independence 1st Class.

**141. Ali Bubakir Na'as (Tripolitanian)**

Elected Deputy for Tarhuna West Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

Re-elected as a Deputy in 1956.

**142. Abdul Qalil Saif al Nasr (Fezzan)**

Born 1927. Educated in Egypt, where he was brought up. Nephew of Omar Saif al Nasr. Appointed Deputy Wali to his late uncle, Ahmad Saif al Nasr, when the latter was made Wali of the Fezzan, 1952. Appointed President of the Executive Council when amendments were made to the Provincial Organic Law in August 1954. He is a Nationalist who is favourably disposed towards Egypt. Although he is in the pay of the French he does not necessarily give them much support.

As a result of strong criticism of him by the Legislative Assembly in the Fezzan he managed to persuade the Government and the King to dissolve the Assembly and this has provoked further opposition. He is believed to spend a lot of money in Cairo and has become a close friend of the Egyptian military attaché in Libya.

**143. Muhammad Saif al Nasr (Fezzan)**

Born in 1895. Brother of the late Ahmad Saif al Nasr who was Governor of the Fezzan. Spent most of his life in Egypt.

Condemned to death *in absentia* by the Italians in 1933. 1944, he was allowed to return to Tripolitania provided he undertook not to interfere in politics. His ostensible reason for visiting the territory was to inspect his properties in the Jufra. His real mission seemed to be to further the Sanussi cause. He was ordered to leave the territory in 1946. In 1947 when the King returned to Cyrenaica he accompanied His Majesty.

Following the disappearance of a certain Sharif Saif al Nasr in the Nofilia area between Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and as the Saif al Nasr family were firmly convinced that Sharif had been murdered by the Hsun tribe, Mohamed Saif al Nasr kidnapped and murdered seven Hsun tribesmen in Cyrenaica.

He escaped to Egypt where he remained for some time. Imprisoned by the Egyptians for illegal currency transactions, 1953.

The Egyptian President of the Republic ordered his release in 1955 and he returned to the Fezzan immediately as his release was conditional on his leaving Egypt.

**144. Muhammad Saif al Nasr (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Azizia in 1890. Was a Turkish officer from 1915 to 1918. Lieutenant in the Italian police, 1920-21. Shaikh of his qabila since 1921. A member of the United National Front Party and later supported the National Congress Party, from which he was won over by the Government. Returned unopposed as Deputy for Azizia Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

Re-elected in the 1956 elections for the same constituency.

**145. Salim Saif al Nasr (Fezzan)**

Nephew to Omar Saif al Nasr, Wali of the Fezzan. Very much a nomad and has only had a primary education. Appointed a Senator March 18, 1952, and elected Vice-President of the Senate May 1952. Not reappointed to the Senate in 1956.

**146. Omar Saif al Nasr (Fezzan)**

Born Sirte 1889. Studied the Quran and Muslim law when he was young. He accompanied the Amir Saif al Nasr to Agedabia following the proclamation of the Sanussi Amirate during the Italian occupation. He remained with the Sanussi until 1925, when he returned to Nofilia. After having played a leading part in the battles of Takareft and Qrara Tertel in the Fezzan in 1931 he emigrated to Tchad. He returned to Libya in 1950 and supported Bashir Saadawi, leader of the Tripolitanian National Congress Party, which irritated the King. Later he made his peace, and was appointed Wali of the Fezzan in June 1954 following the death of his brother, Ahmad Saif al Nasr. Has proved an ineffective Wali and allows his nephew to take complete control as President of the Executive Council.

**147. Abdul Qadir Nazimi (Iraqi)**

Born Bagdad 1910. Chief of Staff of the Libyan Army. Educated in Bagdad; attended a course at Catterick and another at a school in India. Passed the Iraqi staff college and graded B. Head of Iraqi Military Mission to the Yemen 1941. Attended the senior officers' school at Erlestoke Park in 1948. Started the Senior Officers' school in Iraq 1954 and commanded it for some time. Speaks English and is favourably disposed towards the British. He is inclined to drink heavily at times and for this reason is criticised by the Libyans. Is related by marriage to the Imam of the Yemen and, perhaps for this reason, has some influence with King Idris. Is at loggerheads with Sanussi Lattaiwish. A difficult personality.

**148. Wanis al Qadafi (Cyrenaican)**

Born in Benghazi in November 1921. Member of the Qasser Hamed tribe. Has an elementary education and knows English and Italian as well as Arabic.

1937-40, private secretary to an Italian lawyer. 1943-48, employed in the Secretariat of the Municipality of Benghazi. 1948-49, chief clerk in the Department of the Interior in the British Administration and also assistant political officer. Early in 1950 he was appointed private secretary to the Prime Minister of Cyrenaica and later in the year appointed Assistant Controller of Establishments. 1951-52, occupied the post of Inspector of Municipalities in the Cyrenaican Government. January 1952, appointed Director of Labour Affairs in the Department of the Interior. May 1952, appointed Nazir of Health for Cyrenaica. This appointment caused surprise as he was considered too junior.

Transferred from Health to Education in August 1952. It is doubtful whether he is up to his many responsibilities. It has become increasingly difficult to get him to do anything, not because of any ill-will, but because of his inability to delegate responsibility and handle paper.

Took over the Nazirate of Agriculture temporarily August 1953. Appointed Nazir of Interior December 26, 1953, and gave up that of Agriculture and Education. Took over temporarily Nazirate of Works and Communications as well in February 1954.

In January 1955 appointed President of the Executive Council of Cyrenaica, in addition to his post as Nazir of the Interior, but gave up the latter post in March 1955. Appointed Acting Wali during Husain Maziq's absence on the pilgrimage in 1956.

**149. Mansur Qaddara (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Zliten in 1905 and brought up in Turkey and Damascus. His father was A.D.C. to the Sultan of Turkey. Obtained Transjordanian



nationality in 1932. He knows Turkish, Arabic and French well. At one time he was manager of the Arab Bank in Amman and later manager of the Arab National Bank in Cairo.

1944, was the prime organiser of a number of demonstrations for the independence of Tripolitania, for which he was deported by the British authorities. October 1946, deputy president and treasurer of the Cyrenaica-Tripolitania Defence Committee. March 1947, secretary of the Libyan Liberation Committee in Cairo. May 1949, headed the Tripolitanian delegation to the United Nations. 8th March, 1951, appointed Minister of Finance in the new Tripolitanian Government, and on 29th March he was appointed to the same portfolio in the provisional Federal Libyan Government.

Appointed first Libyan Minister to the Court of St. James on March 31, 1953, and consequently relinquished his post as Minister of Finance.

Appointed Chief of the Royal Cabinet, 1st March, 1954, having declined to accept the appointment of Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Saqisli Government. Relieved of his appointment in September 1954. Although he was told that he was to be sent to Paris as Libyan Ambassador when he relinquished this appointment, so far he has not been appointed to this or any other post. This has caused him to become very critical of Mustafa bin Halim whom he believes to be against him.

It is understood that in fact he has been offered appointments as Head of Libyan Missions in various Arab States, but has declined. He is a very close friend of Ali Pasha Abdia.

He is ambitious, sociable and well mannered, but inclined to try to please everybody. He is not a strong man. He is married to the daughter of Hilmi Pasha who owns the Arab Bank and who was the first Governor of the Arab part of Palestine. He is very well connected in the Middle East.

#### 150. Khalifa Abdul Qadir (Cyrenaican)

Former postmaster in Benghazi. Young, reasonable, progressive and a quiet type. Elected Deputy for Al Beida Constituency (Beida Littoria) on 19th February, 1952.

Voted against ratification of the Anglo-Libyan Treaty.

Re-elected as a Deputy in March 1956.

#### 151. Ali Sidqi Abdul Qadir (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1924. Educated in local schools. A shopkeeper. In 1947 he was licensed to practise as an advocate. In 1948 he spread propaganda for the Ikhwan al Muslimeen and since May 1949 has been in touch with Communist elements.

A poet of extreme national sentiments. A pan-Arabist who is constantly engaged in polemics against all European Powers.

#### 152. Abdul Rahman Qalhud (Tripolitanian)

Born Tripoli 1911. Educated at the Quranic schools and later went to the Ahmad Pasha College until 1937. He distinguished himself by getting a first in the examination which gave him the title of "scholar." 1937, he was appointed as a teacher at the same college. 1944, was offered an appointment as Qadi in the interior but refused although he qualified in the examinations which were held. 1945, appointed Chief Clerk in the Sharia Court. 1950, appointed Dean of the Ahmad Pasha College and head of the religious instructions in Tripoli. Staunch supporter of the National Party, 1944, which became part of the United National Front Party. 1946, a member of the Tripolitanian delegation which visited Cyrenaica 1947 to discuss unity of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. Member of the National Congress Party. 1949, elected Deputy for Tripoli West Constituency. February 19, 1952, elected

Chairman of the Parliamentary Legislative Committee. Appointed Minister of Justice February 1954.

Appointed Minister of Education March 1956.

#### 153. Khalil Omar Qallal (Cyrenaican)

Born in Benghazi in 1895. Lives there and has also recently acquired property outside Tripoli. Member of the Qafi tribe. Fluent in Italian and by profession a public notary. Educated at Italian schools in Benghazi over the period 1912-16.

He was later appointed a director of the Kuttab Centrale, and in 1936 he became a member of the Awqaf Committee. In 1938 he succeeded Dr. Ali Nur al Din Anaizi as Mudir of the Awqaf. In the same year the Italians appointed him "Cavaliere." From 1920 to 1940 he worked as an official interpreter, in conjunction with an Italian notary. During the successive British occupations (1940-42), he rendered services as an interpreter.

In January 1948 he became a member of the National Congress and was elected as one of its two secretaries. In May 1949 he was a member of the Cyrenaican delegation to Lake Success. In September 1949 he was appointed Minister of Health in the new Cyrenaican Government, and in the same month again went to Lake Success as a member of the Cyrenaican delegation. Upon the appointment of Omar Mansur al Kikhia as Prime Minister in November 1949, Qallal resigned from the Cabinet. Nominated by the Amir in June 1950 as one of the Cyrenaican members of the Libyan Preparatory Committee. In October of the same year he was appointed a member of the Cyrenaican delegation to the Libyan Constituent Assembly, in the deliberations of which he subsequently played a leading part. He accompanied the Libyan delegation to the Arab League in January 1951. February 1952, elected as a candidate for Benghazi to the Chamber of Deputies. Reported to be in close contact with members of the defunct National Congress Party in Tripolitania and one who tried to cause considerable opposition to the Anglo-Libyan Treaty. Appointed Minister of Defence February 1954 in the Saqisli Government. He was given the same portfolio in the bin Halim Government. The British Military Mission found him difficult to work with as Minister of Defence.

Appointed Libyan Ambassador to Egypt November 1954. When he was in Cairo he became very critical of Mustafa bin Halim. Appointed Minister of State March 1956 and acted as Prime Minister whenever bin Halim was away. Although he appears to support bin Halim now, because of his daughter's marriage to Sayid Sadiq al Rida's son he is still critical of bin Halim and would oppose him on the King's death in favour of Sadiq al Rida.

Intelligent, well educated and progressive in outlook, Qallal has a considerable following among the *intelligentsia* of the towns, and particularly in the National Club, over whose members he exercises a moderating influence. His reputation is generally good, but he is disliked by the Omar Mansur Pasha group.

#### 154. Mahmud bu Qatin (Cyrenaican)

A member of the Barassa tribe and a relative by marriage of the late Ibrahim Shalhi. Served as an officer in the Cyrenaica Defence Force and then became a Police Officer in the Cyrenaican Police Force. He was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Police in 1952 and promoted to Commissioner of Police in 1953 with the rank of Miralai (brigadier). June 1954, he was made a Lewa (major-general) in the same post. He has consistently taken pains to ingratiate himself with King Idris in order to serve his own ambitions and has thereby incurred a degree of unpopularity with other authorities and also with



his subordinates. By ruthlessness and opportunism he has so far overcome the handicap of lack of education. Appears willing to assume responsibilities though with scant regard for legal niceties and might therefore sooner or later overplay his hand. A born intriguer. About the middle of 1955 he is reported to have quarrelled with Mustafa bin Halim, whose ideas of a unitary form of state he opposes. He has shown willingness to co-operate with the British Forces in Benghazi and claims to be violently opposed to Egyptian infiltration into Libya, for which he blames Mustafa bin Halim.

His desire to strengthen the Cyrenaican Defence Force, he claims, is with a view to opposing any move on the part of the Prime Minister to proclaim a republic on the King's death. He is violently opposed to the Sharif branch of the Sanussi family.

#### 155. Muhammad Qraishi (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1899. A wealthy merchant of considerable influence.

Was a member of the Nationalist Party but in 1946 dissociated himself from political parties and worked independently. After the British occupation became president of the Moslem Benevolent Society and a member of the Advisory Council for Tripoli district. February 1949, appointed member of the Tripoli Municipal Council. In May 1949 he took an active part in organising the demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan. In 1950, became an active supporter of Bashir Saadawi and managed to organise financial transfers for him from Egypt to Libya, through various merchants who had business transactions with Egypt. In April 1952 he endeavoured to effect a link-up between the die-hard Bashir Saadawi supporters and Tunisian Nationalists, with whom he is in close contact.

During the elections for the Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly in March 1953 strongly supported some of the Government candidates, probably as a result of Fadil bin Zikri's influence over him. One of the ten appointed in March 1953 by the Tripolitanian Administration to the local Legislative Assembly. On March 29, 1953, he was elected Vice-President of the Tripolitanian Legislative Council which was dissolved in January 1954.

Appointed as a Senator in the 1956 elections.

#### 156. Salih Bin Rabha (Tripolitanian)

Elected Deputy for Castel Benito Constituency on 5th March, 1952.

Re-elected as a Deputy in the 1956 elections.

#### 157. Muhammad bu Rahayim (Cyrenaican)

Born in Cyrenaica, 1903. Member of the Bu Jazia section of the Abaidat tribe. Educated first in Cyrenaica and then sent by Anwar Pasha to study at the Turkish Military Academy in Constantinople. He obtained a commission in the Turkish army. During the 1914-18 war he was captured by the British and spent some time in a prisoner-of-war camp.

In 1939 he was in Egypt, and when the Libyan Arab Force was formed he joined it as an Arab officer. In 1941 he was captured by the Germans and sent to Berlin, where he remained until being released by the Allied forces. Upon release he returned to Egypt, where he was offered a job by the Arab League, which he declined.

He returned to Benghazi from Egypt in October 1949 and obtained a post in the Sharia Court. A year later he was nominated by the Amir as one of the Cyrenaican delegates to the Libyan Constituent Assembly. Appointed to the Ministry of Defence as liaison officer following the mutiny of the Royal Guard in Cyrenaica in April 1952.

Has co-operated very satisfactorily with the British Military Mission, who like and respect him.

Locally respected, he speaks fluent Italian, German, French and Turkish, in addition to Arabic.

Appointed Director-General of Immigration 1955.

#### 158. Ali Mukhtar bin Rajib (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1918. Studied in local Quramic schools. Was a shopkeeper until 1946.

Joined the Nationalist Party in 1945. In May 1946 he left this party and assisted Ahmad Fiqih Hassan in forming the Free National Bloc, from which he resigned on 20th November of the same year. February 1946, one of the signatories to a petition protesting against the resolution of the Arab Advisory Council for a British mandate. In 1947 he returned from a clandestine visit to Cairo. In the same year he formed the Egypto-Tripolitanian Union Party and became its president. In 1948 he tried but failed to establish branches of his party in Cyrenaica. He started a party newspaper which was known as *Shaolat al Hurriya*. This paper was subsidised by funds received from Egypt. The party suspended activities in December 1948 due to lack of financial support. In 1949 he visited Benghazi, after which he appeared to have turned pro-Senussi.

In December 1952 the Tripolitanian Administration gave him permission to restart his newspaper, but it was banned in February 1953 following an attack on the Libyan Government.

Interested in the education of Arab youth. Generally regarded as selfish and irresponsible.

#### 159. Muhammad Rifaat (Tripolitanian)

Born in Suq al Juma in 1898. Fairly well educated.

In 1921 he was appointed Mudir. Interned in May 1943 and released in January 1944. Appointed Secretary of Arab Affairs in 1944. In 1947 promoted to Administrative Assistant. 25th March, 1952, promoted to Mutassarif, Eastern Province. June 1953, appointed Provincial Commissioner Tripoli Province. June 1954, appointed Commissioner of Labour. Appointed Nazir of the Interior December 1954. Attempted to resign several times after his appointment because of lack of authority, but his resignation was not accepted.

A strong and capable administrator and a pleasant character whose sound views on administrative and political matters have gained him much respect.

Appointed as Mutassarif of Tripoli February 1956.

#### 160. Maraaih al Rukh (Cyrenaican)

Born about 1909. Member of the Orfa-Torsh tribe. Member of the Barce Municipal Council. Member of the National Congress until its dissolution in March 1950. Elected Deputy for Al Marj Mudirivya Constituency on 19th February, 1952, without opposition.

Not re-elected as a Deputy in 1956.

#### 161. Qadafi Saad (Cyrenaican)

Elected Deputy for Tobruk Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections.

A moderate in politics who has married an Italian. Defeated in the 1956 elections by a combination of the Marabatin tribes.

#### 162. Bashir al Saadawi (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1885 in Homs. Educated in Quranic schools in Libya. Speaks Turkish.

He fled from Tripolitania to Turkey on being condemned to death for opposing the Italian occupation in 1913. Was a Qaimaqam in the Lebanon in 1916. In 1925 he was appointed secretary to Ahmed Nami Bey, the Governor of Syria. Until 1936 he remained head of the Libyan community in Syria and president of the Barqa-Tripoli Defence Committee, which was formed in Damascus to make widespread propaganda against Italian barbarities.



in North Africa. In 1939 he was appointed adviser to King Ibn Saud. Intelligence reports during the past world war indicated a pro-Axis attitude, but he maintains that he always supported the idea of mutual understanding and co-operation between Britain and the Arab States.

In 1947 he formed the Libyan Liberation Committee in Cairo and was elected its president. In March 1947 he visited Tripoli during the tour of the Four-Power Commission, and rallied public opinion to support his demand for the unity and independence of Libya. In December 1948 he visited Paris and London to explain the Libyan case.

In July 1949 he visited Tripoli to meet the Amir of Cyrenaica on the latter's way to London. He went to Egypt and proceeded from there to Lake Success in September 1949 as leader of the Tripolitanian delegation. He returned to Tripoli in February 1950 after a short stay in Cairo, where he contacted the Arab League and the Egyptian Government. He was accompanied by an Egyptian adviser, Dr. Fuad Shukri, a professor in the Fuad al Awal University, Cairo.

On his return to the territory he began a widespread campaign in support of the National Congress and the Sanussi Amirate. Left for Cairo in March 1950 and on his return in April 1950 spent much of his time denying charges of embezzling funds entrusted to him by the Arab League and Arab countries for the Libyan cause. During the formation of the Chief Administrator's Administrative Council in April 1950, Saadawi adopted an obstructive attitude. His behaviour at that time caused a split in the National Congress and his personal prestige suffered in both Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

During the sessions of the United Nations Council of Libya, Saadawi kept in close contact with both the Egyptian and Pakistani delegates on the council and acted very much under their influence. He paid several visits to Egypt during 1951, during which time he tried to persuade the British Administration to accept his views on constitutional development. In an interview with the British Chief Administrator on March 2, 1951, he declared the National Congress Party's opposition to the reforms which the Administration had put into effect and claimed that they violated the United Nations resolution. Throughout the remainder of the year he continued a political propaganda campaign against federation.

Prior to the parliamentary elections on February 19, 1952, he waged an active propaganda campaign throughout Tripolitania in favour of the National Congress, and through financial support from Egypt succeeded in opening branches in all villages in the territory. He attempted to organise widespread disturbances after the elections when it became known that the National Congress Party had failed to acquire a majority of seats in Tripolitania. As a result of this he was deported to Egypt on February 22, 1952, on orders of the Prime Minister with the approval of King Idris. His deportation led to no political reaction. Following his deportation the National Congress Party was outlawed by the Libyan Government.

In 1952 he went on the pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia but was refused permission to return to Egypt by the Egyptian Government following their invitation to the King of Libya to make a State visit to Egypt. He tried several times during the King of Libya's stay in Egypt to return but was refused permission on each occasion. In 1953 he visited Syria and the Lebanon. He again visited these two countries in 1954 and went to Turkey when he heard that the King was expected to pay a State visit in June.

King Idris has never had confidence in him and has always associated him closely with

Azzam Pasha's intrigues in Libya. He has a persuasive manner when being interviewed and has in the past succeeded in impressing those who have met him. He is out to feather his own nest and is not to be trusted. Tried again in June 1955 to see King Idris in Egypt but failed. Tried again in 1956 to persuade Her Majesty's Embassy in Cairo to intervene with the King to allow him to return. Criticised bin Halim on this occasion.

#### 163. Ali Sahi (Cyrenaican)

Born in Benghazi, 2nd April, 1924. Tripolitanian by origin. Member of the Karaghla tribe. Educated in Arabic and Italian schools in Benghazi. Speaks English and Italian. Before the last war was in the Italian army in the Road Transport Regiment in Cyrenaica.

Employed in the Secretariat Section on the Benghazi Municipality from early 1943 to early 1946, when he moved to the Mutassarifia of Benghazi, where he remained until September of the same year. In September 1946 he was sent to Cairo to study. After obtaining the Baccalaureate in 1948 he was sent to England to study law. Graduated from the University of London in August 1951 and remained under training there until April 1952.

Appointed head of a section in the Libyan Ministry for Foreign Affairs early in January 1952. Appointed Nazir of Justice in May 1952, and became President of the Executive Council 1954. Following a dispute between him and Mahmud bu Qatin, Commissioner of Police, Cyrenaica, he was appointed Minister of Communications in December 1954. During a Cabinet reshuffle in April 1955 he was appointed Minister of Finance.

Appointed Minister of Justice March 1956.

He has always shown a friendly attitude towards Britain, but is apt to be critical of America.

#### 164. Sulaiman bin Said (Tripolitanian)

Born in Fassato in 1880. Qaimaqam of Jefren. An Abadite notable of a certain influence in the Jebel area. Held several Government positions under both Turks and Italians. Fought with Graziani against the Arab rebels during the Italian occupation and was accused of murdering several of his private enemies on the pretext that they were rebels. Decorated with the "Order of the Star of Italy."

Until 1946 he was a member of the Chief Administrator's Arab Advisory Council and a signatory to this council's resolution in favour of a British trusteeship in 1946. In 1946 he supported Bashir Saadawi for the purpose of regaining popularity among Arab Nationalists. Resigned from the National Congress in May 1951 after having fallen out with Bashir Saadawi. February 1952, elected Deputy to the Libyan Parliament for Jadu Constituency. His main opponents are the Khirbish family.

#### 165. Ali bin Salam (Tripolitanian)

May 1951, member of the National Congress Party; but was elected Government Deputy for Jefren Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections, having changed sides. Re-elected in 1956.

#### 166. Nasr bin Salam (Fezzan)

Appointed Nazir of Finance and Agriculture for the Fezzan on 29th March, 1951.

Relieved of his post as Nazir of Finance and Economics for the Fezzan and appointed Nazir of Commerce and Agriculture, January 28, 1954.

#### 167. Ali bin Salim (Tripolitanian)

Elected Deputy for Homs Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, elections. Re-elected in 1956.



**168. Abdullah bin Abdul Samad (Tripolitanian)**

Mayor of Kusabat. Elected Deputy for Kusabat Constituency on 19th February, 1952. Re-elected in 1956.

**169. Abdullah Abid al Sanussi (Cyrenaican)**

Born in 1908 in Kufra. Member of the Abid branch of the Sanussi family and a cousin of the King. Lived for many years in the French Sudan, returning to Cyrenaica in 1948.

After his return he established a considerable commercial position, but made himself unpopular in doing so. The Ahmad al Sharif branch of the Sanussi family, and especially Sayid Muhy al Din and Sayid Abul Qasim, dislike him intensely. Although the King feared at one time that Sayid Abdullah's activities might bring the Sanussi family into disrepute with the Cyrenaican Arabs, he preferred that his relations should direct their activities to commerce rather than politics. Sayid Abdullah formed a company to carry out contracting work, and in January 1952 he was given the salvage concession along the eastern coast of Cyrenaica. He employed two of the three members of the Ihwan al Muslimeen, who took refuge from Egypt in June 1949, and appeared to be susceptible to their influence. He was a close friend of the late Ibrahim Shalhi as well as Mustafa bin Halim, both of whom were his business partners. He was largely responsible for bringing the Banque Misr to Cyrenaica in 1953.

In 1950, while visiting Italy, he gave a press interview in which he stated that one of the objects of his visit was to initiate economic collaboration between Italy and Libya. This caused annoyance to the King, who finds his commercial methods embarrassing.

In 1953 his relations with the Egyptians became closer, and he is looked upon by them as a staunch supporter. He is said to have been in financial difficulties in 1954, but Banque Misr came to his aid. He was out of favour with the King for a time in September 1954, and was even placed under house arrest for having invited Count Marzotto, an Italian landowner, to visit his former property near Barce. After the murder of Ibrahim Shalhi he was reinstated in royal favour.

Avaricious but shrewd.

Decorations: The Collar, Mohammad Ali I. 1st Class Order of the Republic (Egyptian). 1st Class Order of Idris.

**170. Muhammad Safi al Din al Sanussi (Cyrenaican)**

Born 1895. He is the senior representative of the Cadet branch of the Sanussi house and first cousin of the King.

At first took a lead in the resistance to the Italians, then collaborated and was first president of the Cyrenaican Parliament formed under Italian auspices in 1920. He lives in Benghazi but has agricultural interests in Barce. He visited Egypt frequently in the early days of the British occupation and was in close contact with leading Egyptian personalities, including Azzam, the former Secretary-General of the Arab League.

25th March, 1952, the title of Prince was conferred on him by King Idris.

After the assassination of Ibrahim Shalhi he lost his title of Prince in October 1954, as all titles, privileges and immunities were taken away from members of the Sanussi family.

Since then he has not taken an active part in politics but is critical of the King and Government.

An unstable and grasping personality with unsatisfied ambitions. He is distrusted by the King. His relations with the British are solely directed towards getting money and he is quite unreliable.

He is prepared to put himself forward with Egyptian support as a rival to the King. He is generally disliked in Cyrenaica on account of his doubtful loyalty to the Crown.

**171. Muhammad Idris al Mahdi al Sanussi (King of Libya)**

Eldest son of Mahdi al Sanussi, former head of the Sanussi Order, who died resisting the French colonisation of Tibesti. Muhammad al Idris, who was born in 1889, succeeded his cousin Sayid Ahmad al Sharif as recognised head of the Order in 1916. He was recognised by the Italian Government as Amir of the autonomous administration of the Oases by the Accord of Rejima in 1920. He was invited to assume the Amirate over the whole of Libya by the Tripolitarians in 1921. This was opposed by the Italian Government and in consequence of disagreement with them he voluntarily retired into exile in Egypt in 1923. He was proscribed by the Fascist Government, but the Egyptian Government refused to hand him over to the Italian authorities. He continued to direct the resistance to Fascist domination from Egypt.

In 1940, one month after the fall of France, he helped to raise a force which fought with the Allied forces in the desert war of 1940-42. He first visited Cyrenaica from exile in 1944.

He returned to Cyrenaica in 1947 and constituted the National Congress to represent Cyrenaican interests. In June 1949, at the request of the National Congress, he was recognised as Amir of Cyrenaica and the head of a local Government with control over internal affairs. In September 1949 he enacted a Cyrenaican Constitution and appointed a council of six Ministers.

In December 1950 the Libyan National Constituent Assembly passed a resolution inviting him to become King of Libya. The Amir accepted this invitation, but at the same time he announced that he would not proclaim himself King until a Constitution had been drawn up and he was able to exercise his royal powers.

In May 1951, at the invitation of the Tripolitanian Prime Minister, he paid a State visit to Tripolitania, where he made a tour of the provinces. Unfortunately a hand grenade was thrown a few yards in front of the King's car, probably with the intention of causing embarrassment to the Government of the day. Since then he has rarely visited Tripolitania.

Proclaimed King of the United Kingdom of Libya on 24th December, 1951.

Paid a State visit to Egypt in December 1952. He remained in Egypt for medical treatment, which did him more harm than good. He finally returned in March 1953. He went to Europe in September 1953 for further medical treatment and visited Spain on his return, where he met Franco.

He married his cousin, Fatima, but has no living children. His wife, who belongs to the Sharif branch of the family, has had several miscarriages and her last child, born in the spring of 1953, was premature and died some thirty-six hours after birth. She exerted herself during the King's absence in Egypt to prevent the resignation of Mahmud Muntassir, and is a lady of some influence and ability.

The assassination of Ibrahim Shalhi on the 7th October, 1954, came as a great shock to the King. Shalhi had for long been his confidant and right-hand man. As a result all the royal prerogatives were taken away from the members of the royal family with the exception of his brother, the Amir Muhammad Rida, who later died on the 29th July, 1955.



The King married a second wife, an Egyptian named Aliya Lamlum, on the 5th June, 1955, with the object of trying to produce an heir to the throne. This marriage caused a certain amount of criticism, as it was felt that the bride was too old and not from a very distinguished branch of the Lamlum family.

Soon after his marriage to Aliya he left for Tobruk leaving Aliya in Tripoli. In 1956 Aliya decided to visit Egypt and it is doubtful whether she will ever return. Aliya was extremely critical of the way of life in Libya, particularly the fact that the women are in purdah.

Queen Fatima still lives with the King most of the time and still enjoys a privileged position.

Paid a State visit to Turkey in August 1956.

After the death of Ibrahim Shalhi the King aged considerably. He has not a very strong character and is inclined to accept the advice of the last person to see him. As, since Shalhi's death, Mustafa bin Halim has become the King's principal adviser, this advice has taken in practice a pro-Egyptian line. But the many vicissitudes of his life have induced in him a natural caution and he is slow to commit himself to any course of action. He knows his people well and is, on the whole, an astute politician. His attachment to the British connexion seems to be genuinely firm and he distrusts the Egyptians profoundly. Speaks no language but Arabic.

Decorations: G.B.E.; number of Turkish decorations.

#### 172. Sadiq al Rida al Sanussi (Cyrenaican)

Eldest son of the late Amir al Rida al Mahdi al Sanussi. Born 1908. Lives at Barce and Benghazi and owns property in Egypt.

Played a part in the resistance to the Italians and took refuge in Egypt.

Vice-president of the National Congress until its dissolution on 1st March, 1950. Since the dissolution of the National Congress he has been somewhat restless. In February 1950 he was appointed Director of Tribal Affairs in the Cyrenaican Government, but this appointment terminated when the Sanussi family were withdrawn from Government employment in April of the same year. He formed a local company in Cyrenaica to exploit sponge fishing off the Cyrenaican coast. The adverse repercussions on Cyrenaican trade with Greece in 1953 of his company's intransigence over sponge fishing licences was detrimental to his prestige.

A fairly strong personality and has some influence with the tribes, but owing to lack of education he finds it difficult to cope with the quicker-witted town politicians.

Is regarded as a possible heir to the throne, but his chances have diminished owing to an unfavourable reference in the King's memoirs as published in the local paper. He is also looked upon as being favourably disposed towards the Sharif side of the Sanussi family. July 1955 he was ordered to remain in Benghazi, presumably because he was still in contact with the Sharifs. This particular branch of the family favour Sadiq as heir to the throne and, although he has incurred the King's displeasure for having refused to ignore them he has won popular support with the tribes for having adopted this attitude.

Although he has maintained contact with leading Cyrenaican personalities, he has not been politically active for some time. It is likely that he would be acceptable as the successor to the King by a majority of Libyans.

His son, Mahdi, is at present being educated at Victoria College, Alexandria.

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#### 173. Abul Qasim Ahmad Sharif al Sanussi (Cyrenaican)

Second cousin of the King. Son of the former head of the Sanussi Order, Ahmad al Sharif. Born 1910 in Kufra.

Served as an officer of the Libyan Arab Force in 1940-43 and was subsequently employed in district administration by the British Military Administration. A vice-president of the National Congress until its dissolution on 1st March, 1950. Appointed Director of the Interior in the new Cyrenaican Government in October 1949, but removed from Government service in April 1950 when the Amir decided that no member of the family might hold an official post. Since then has devoted himself to business, and holds the desert war salvage concession, out of which he is rumoured to have made a good deal of money.

1950, regarded by the King as a disturbing influence around whom a group of young Cyrenaicans have collected. He is on particularly good terms with Mahmud Muntassir. 1951, made several visits to Tripoli. As a result of his removal from Government service in 1950 he became somewhat anti-British in his outlook.

He visited London for the Coronation and now professes admiration for the British way of life. He strongly disapproved of the influence of the late Ibrahim Shalhi and is opposed to the present Prime Minister, Mustafa bin Halim, and Abdulla Abid al Sanussi, who is his bitter business rival. He has become very critical of the King, especially since the assassination of Ibrahim Shalhi. His relations with Sadiq Rida al Sanussi are good. He has considerable influence in Cyrenaica and may conceivably use it when the time is ripe.

Mustafa bin Halim has made every effort to weaken this influence, so far with little success. Although he was closely connected with Salih Buaisir in business the latter now claims to be opposed to him.

Intelligent and constructive, although somewhat excitable. Friendly to the British although his feelings could change through lack of support.

Decoration: O.B.E.

#### 174. Ibrahim bin Ahmad al Sharif al Sanussi (Cyrenaican)

Born at Kufra in 1903, the son of Sayid Ahmad al Sharif. Studied at Kufra and Jaghub. Lived at Mersa Matruh in Egypt.

He did not play a prominent part in the campaign against the Italians, having spent most of his time in Egypt from about 1925. Soon after the formation of the Libyan Arab Force in August 1940 he was appointed head of the Sanussi Office in Cairo, where he played an important part in recruiting volunteers for the Libyan Arab Force. Although he spent much time at Mersa Matruh and is on good terms with the Egyptian authorities there, he is openly critical of much of the conduct of the new régime in Egypt.

Appointed as first Libyan Minister to Egypt on 4th April, 1953. Appointed as Libyan Ambassador to Egypt July 1954, when Libyan Legation was raised to an Embassy.

After the death of Ibrahim Shalhi he was recalled, but refused to return to Libya and requested asylum in Egypt which was granted. Since relinquishing his appointment as Ambassador he has been very critical of the state of affairs in Libya.

Decorations: Awarded the King's Medal for Freedom in 1947. Order of Nile, 1st Class.

#### 175. Muhi-al-Din Ahmad Sharif al Sanussi (Cyrenaican)

Second son of the former head of the Sanussi Order, Ahmad al Sharif. Born 1906 in Kufra.



Studied at Quranic schools in Kufra, Jaghub and in the Hedjaz. Brother-in-law of the King, and a respected member of the Sanussi family. He is well informed as to what is going on. Was strongly opposed to Ibrahim Shalhi, who was assassinated by one of his sons, Sharif Muhi-al-Din al Sanussi, on 7th October, 1954. The boy was executed for the murder on the 7th February, 1955.

This particular branch of the family have become very critical of the King, and are now violently opposed to the Prime Minister, Mustafa bin Halim, and Abdullah Abid al Sanussi. In July 1955 he was told by the Wali of Cyrenaica that he was not to have any contact with political personalities and put under town arrest.

#### 176. Muhammad Sanussi al Saqisli (Cyrenaican)

Born 1885 in Benghazi. Member of the Sur Jabar tribe. Educated at a Turkish school in Benghazi.

Became secretary to Sayid Muhammad Idris during the latter's negotiations with the Italians from 1919 to 1923. Imprisoned by the Italians from 1923-29 and 1930-34. After his release he became an official interpreter and lived in Benghazi. Later he set up an office and became a public notary.

In November 1949 he was appointed Minister of Justice in Omar Mansur Pasha's Cabinet, and in March 1950 he succeeded the Pasha as Prime Minister (the title was later changed to Wali), retaining the portfolio of Justice. On the proclamation of Libyan Independence he was appointed Wali of Cyrenaica, and in this capacity continued his autocratic methods of Government. Was regarded by the Federal Prime Minister as one of the chief obstacles to close and effective co-operation between the Cyrenaican Government and the Federal Government. Relieved of his post as Wali of Cyrenaica and appointed Minister of Education in the Federal Government by Royal Decree on 14th May, 1952. His transfer was hailed with relief in Benghazi and regarded as a notable point scored by the Federal Prime Minister against the separatists.

During 1951 his popularity in the country declined. He showed a tendency towards xenophobia and became difficult to deal with in the course of official relations. Intelligent and respected locally, he has however little influence with the tribes. Is a supporter of the Sanussis and a close associate of Omar Mansur Pasha. Has a reputation for erudition in Arabic. In spite of his attitude when he first arrived in Tripolitania as Minister of Education in the Libyan Government in supporting a closer Cyrenaican-Tripolitanian link-up, he has been inclined to favour Cyrenaica in Cabinet discussions in 1953.

Appointed chief of the Royal Cabinet 20th September, 1953. Became Prime Minister on 15th February, 1954. Resigned on the 8th April, 1954 in support of a decision of the Libyan Supreme Court, which the King chose to ignore, that a Royal Decree dissolving the former Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly was null and void. Since his resignation he has taken no further part in politics and is very critical of the Prime Minister Mustafa bin Halim.

Decorations: Order of Independence, 1st Class.

#### 177. Muhammad Salhin Sarqiwa (Cyrenaican)

Born 1908 in Derna. Home in Derna, but at present living in Benghazi. Member of the Misrati tribe (Derna).

Well thought of by the Italians, whom he served in a number of administrative posts, becoming a Secretary for Arab Affairs, Class II; Mayor of Derna, 1945-48. Naib-Mutassarif, Tobruk, from 1949-50. Appointed Director of Education in April 1950.

Intelligent and capable. Popular in the Derna area. A moderate, with progressive views, he is disliked by Muhammad Saqisli. Literate in Arabic and Italian.

#### 178. Mustafa Sarraj (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1905. Educated in Tripoli. Related by marriage to the present Mufti. Was Clerk of Arab Works under Italians.

After the British occupation was editor of *Tarabulus al Gharb* newspaper. Resigned from the newspaper in 1946 and took up an appointment in Agricultural Department. Was elected member of the Farmers' Association for 1948. 1949, executive member of the National Congress Party. Supported the policy of the Mufti during the May 1949 demonstrations against the Bevin-Sforza Plan. 1950, resigned from the Agricultural Department of the British Administration to take a more active part in politics. He became a staunch supporter of Bashir Saadawi in opposition to the Mufti. 1952 tried to take over the reins as leader of the opposition. February 1952, elected representative for Tripoli South Constituency to the Libyan National Assembly. May 1952, visited Tunis and Italy, and in June visited Cairo, where he made contact with the Moslem Brotherhood.

Appointed Minister of National Economy on 8th April, 1954. Appointed Minister of Education December, 1954, and relinquished appointment as Minister of Economics. Dropped from the Cabinet when there was a further cabinet reshuffle in April 1955. The reason for his removal from office was that whenever there was a new agriculture project to be tried out it was carried out on his own farm at Government expense.

He is capable but of doubtful honesty. A trouble-maker.

#### 179. Ali bin Shaaban (Tripolitanian)

Born in Zuara about 1880. Uncle to Ibrahim Shaaban. Studied in Constantinople and later appointed A.D.C. to the Turkish Governor of Tripoli.

During the Italian occupation was pro-Italian and received an Italian decoration. Proposer of resolution of British trusteeship in 1946. He was a member of the Chief Administrator's Advisory Council. Joined the Independence Party in August 1949 and became an executive member; thereafter came out in the open against the Administration and refused to carry out his duties as adviser. Honorary Qaimaqam of Zuara.

Makes outward appearance of being pro-British but in fact he is an untrustworthy and devious old "Turk." Since his nephew's appointment to the Federal Government he has been favourably disposed to the Government.

#### 180. Ibrahim bin Shaaban (Tripolitanian)

Born in Zuara in 1896. Speaks Italian.

Supported Italian rule in Libya and was a member of the Central Italian Intelligence Bureau in Libya during the Italian occupation. During the withdrawal of the Italians in 1943 he was responsible for running Zuara district. Interned for nearly two years in Egypt as an Italian agent. Released on uncle's (Ali bin Shaaban) guarantee on 28th July, 1944, and returned to Tripolitania.

In 1946 he was chosen as Berber representative on the United National Front and in 1947 was a member of this front's delegation to negotiate unity with the Cyrenaican Congress. In October 1947 he visited Italy. After his return in 1948 he was engaged in spreading pro-Italian propaganda. After his return from a visit to Egypt and Italy in the same year he resigned from the United National Front and started an anti-Saadawi campaign.



In April 1950 he was invited by the Chief Administrator to become a member of the Administrative Council. In November 1950 he was chosen as a Tripolitanian non-party representative for Zuara in the Libyan National Assembly. On 8th March, 1951, he was appointed Minister of Communications in the Tripolitania Regional Government, later known as Nazir of Communications; and on 29th March, 1951, he was appointed Minister of Communications in the Libyan Federal Government.

Successful candidate for Zuara Constituency in the 19th February, 1952, parliamentary elections.

Appointed Minister of Education in the Saqisli Government which was formed on 15th February, 1954. Retained the same portfolio in the succeeding Government which was formed on 8th April, 1954. Appointed Minister of Defence December 1954. Visited the United Kingdom as a guest of Her Majesty's Government July 1955. He has always shown a friendly disposition towards the British, but should not be trusted very far. He is a turn-coat and a master intriguer. He was dropped from the Cabinet in March 1956. He is not popular, particularly in Cyrenaica.

Decorations: Order of Independence (1st Class).

#### 181. Busairi Shalhi

Son of the late Ibrahim Shalhi, who was Minister of Palace Affairs. After attending school in Egypt he went to the United Kingdom to complete his education, where he met a Miss Pinnock whom he married in 1955. He was appointed in his father's place by King Idris who has a great affection for him. Although he does not wield the same influence as his father did with the King, he still has the King's ear. He has a very sly manner and is not to be trusted.

#### 182. Abdul Razzaq Shaqluf (Cyrenaican)

Born 1913 in Derna. Belongs to the Misrati tribe from Tripolitania.

Successful career with the Italian Government, rising from teacher in 1932 to Mudir in 1937. Served with the British Military Administration. Appointed Deputy Financial Secretary in October 1947. Went to the United Kingdom on a course of study. Was the Amir's special emissary from London to the Tripolitanian National Congress in August 1949. Member of the Cyrenaican delegation to Lake Success in September 1949. Associated with the extremist elements of the National Club in political activity after his return from Lake Success. Elected to the Assembly of Representatives as one of the members for Derna in June 1950.

Was required to leave Tripolitania in May 1951 because of suspicions that he was engaging in subversive activities in connexion with the Amir's impending visit. Returned to Derna.

Elected unopposed as Deputy for Derna Constituency in the 1952 elections for the Federal Libyan Parliament. Soon after this he visited Tripolitania and after having had an interview with the Prime Minister he declared that he supported the Government's policy. Although he was anti-British in 1951 at a time when he supported Bashir Saadawi, his views during 1952 changed and he became more friendly towards Britain.

Resigned his seat in Parliament in July 1952 and moved to Tripoli in September to take up an appointment as senior finance officer in the Ministry of Finance, later becoming Director-General of Finance. In 1955 appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of Finance. He is very close to the Prime Minister, Mustafa bin Halim.

Ambitious, keen and hard-working but inclined to be headstrong. Knowledgeable about both Bedouin

and urban life. Political outlook erratic. Ostensibly pro-British and a supporter of the Sanussis, but also a strong supporter of the Arab League and now an ardent advocate of complete Libyan unity.

#### 183. Muhammad Shlaid (Fezzan)

Appointed to the Senate on 18th March, 1952.

Reappointed to the Senate 1956 and made Vice-President.

#### 184. Muhammad Sharif (Tripolitanian)

In January 1950 was a member of the Executive Committee of the Muslim Drivers' and Mechanics' Union. Rose steadily in the Trade Union Movement in Tripolitania, eventually becoming President of the General Libyan Workers' Union. Was the protégé of Sadiq Muntassir, then Wali, and was thus made one of the nominated members of the Tripolitanian Legislative Assembly in April 1954. Sharif believes that the Trade Union Movement must co-operate with the Government, and this led to clashes with the forceful Salim Shitta, the Secretary-General of the General Libyan Workers' Union, which eventually resulted in Sharif's resigning on 18th August, 1954. Sharif induced a number of unions to secede from the General Libyan Workers' Union, and tried to induce others to secede, with the object of creating a new general union of which he would be President. His struggle with Shitta continued during late 1954 and 1955. In an attempt at reconciliation between the two sides, Sharif was appointed Honorary President of the General Libyan Workers' Union in November 1954, on condition he brought the seceding unions back into the General Libyan Workers' Union; this he failed to do, and in fact continued his opposition to Shitta. He has lost much of his influence in the Trade Union Movement, particularly since Shitta organised large-scale strikes in Tripoli in July 1955. Interested himself in the running of the Arts and Crafts School in Tripoli; appears to be friendly towards the British.

#### 185. Salim Sharmit (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1917. Educated in Tripoli and Italy. 1934, joined Commerce University in Venice.

Returned to Tripoli in 1940 and was employed as accountant with the Banco di Roma until 1945. Was detained during the November 1945 riots. From 1945 to 1949 he assisted his father in oil industry and meanwhile was a prominent member of the Unions Sports Club. In 1947 he was elected president of the Unions Sports Club, but resigned as he objected to its members taking part in political demonstrations. In 1949 he was appointed to the Tripoli Municipal Council. December 1950, appointed member of the Chief Administrator's Administrative Council. 8th March, 1951, appointed Assistant Minister in the Tripolitanian Government. 24th December, 1951, appointed Nazir of Finance for Tripolitania.

In March 1953 he was elected (unopposed) to the Tripolitanian Legislative Council as representative of the urban district of Tripolitania. Dismissed from his post as Nazir of Finance on 16th June, 1953, having proved to be a staunch supporter of the Governor Fadil bin Zikri, who was also dismissed. It was strongly rumoured that he made a considerable amount of money while in office, but this is doubtful. Appointed Government Custodian July 1955 to take Italian property under dispute. Appointed to the Agricultural Bank later the same year.

Progressive in outlook and has a pleasant personality, but rather excitable. Not politically-minded, though his associates are mostly Italians and pro-Italian Arabs.



**186. Hamid Ibrahim al Shwaidi** (Cyrenaican)

Born in Benghazi (Berka) 1912. A member of the Karaghla tribe. Educated at local Italo-Arab schools.

Entered the Italian Administration as a teacher in 1933 and was posted to Jalo. Later he was transferred to schools in Benghazi. From 1940 until 1943 he was a clerk in the Sharia Court, Benghazi.

In 1944 he entered the Education Department of the British Military Administration and was posted as a teacher to Berka School. In 1948 he was promoted Inspector of Schools, Jebel district. With the establishment of the Cyrenaican Government he was, in 1950, recalled to Benghazi and appointed Chief Inspector of Schools. In February 1951 he was appointed as a Cyrenaican member of the General Administrative Sub-Committee of the Libyan Co-ordinating Committee.

Appears now to be the dominating figure in the Nazarate of Education. Was a member of the Libyan educational and press delegation which visited Britain in May 1955 and returned much impressed.

**187. Mansur Abu Shdaiq** (Cyrenaican)

Born in 1903. Lives in Marawa and is Mustashar of the Barassa tribe. A leading tribal Sheikh of noble family—made an Omda on the death of his father, who had been greatly respected. He is the recognised leader of the important Barassa tribe.

Mansur was a member of the National Congress until its disbandment in March 1950 and then a member of the Amir's Interim Advisory Council.

A supporter of the Sanussis, of quiet and moderate personality.

**188. Salim Shitta** (Tripolitanian)

Originally teacher at Suq al Juma school. An active member of the National Congress Party; Vice-President of the Suq al Khumis Party branch in 1951. Became interested in the Trade Union Movement, and made rapid progress in it, rising to the position of Secretary-General of the General Libyan Workers' Union in Tripolitania. His forceful methods led to clashes of opinion with Sadiq Muntassir, then Wali, and Sadiq's protégé in the Trade Union Movement, Mohammed Sharif, the President of the General Libyan Workers' Union. This led to a split in the Trade Union Movement in August 1954, when Sharif resigned and persuaded several unions to leave the General Libyan Workers' Union with the idea of forming a new general union of which he, Sharif, would be President. This struggle continued through early 1955, with Shitta gradually winning. In July 1955 Shitta successfully organised large-scale strikes in Tripoli, which considerably increased his prestige with the Trade Union Movement. Is a member of the I.C.F.T.U. and has attended several I.C.F.T.U. meetings as Libyan Trade Union representative. On 18th May, 1955, he flew to Vienna to the I.C.F.T.U. Conference, and then went to the I.L.O. Conference in Geneva as the Libyan delegate. A strong and intelligent personality.

**189. Abdulla al Sharif** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Suq el Juma in 1887. A member of an old family whose large estate was mostly expropriated by the Italian Government. Studied in Constantinople.

During the Italian invasion of Libya he took part in anti-Italian activities and was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. Was pardoned after having served half the sentence. Later he became accountant in the Awqaf Department.

After the British occupation he became a head-master and was promoted to Inspector of Education

for Tripoli Province. Dismissed in 1947 for misconduct. In the same year he formed the "Mankoubeen Society" for the restoration of expropriated lands. June 1947, authorised to practise as an advocate in the British Military Courts, Tripolitania. September 1948, joined the Istiqlal Party and elected secretary-general. In 1948 he joined the pro-Italian movement largely in order to annoy his enemy the Mufti. January 1950, one of the delegates to the United Nations. 1951, appointed head of the Technical School but was transferred in 1952 to another section of the Education Department.

He is a double-faced and not very estimable character.

**190. Tahir Ahmad Sharif** (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1900 in Tajura. Studied in Quranic schools. An authority on Sharia matters.

Under the Italians he held several appointments as teacher and Mudir. Under the British he was Secretary of Arab Affairs of Tripoli district. In 1947 he was transferred to the Legal Department. June 1947, member of the Awqaf Council. December 1947, appointed magistrate of Ahliya Courts, Tripoli. January 1949, member of Tripoli Municipal Council.

He is anti-Italian at heart; honest, intelligent and well respected. Interested in social reform.

**191. Conte Comm. Ulderico Sottocasa** (Tripolitanian)

Italian. Born 2nd January, 1878, at Reggio Emilia, Italy. Served in the Italian armed forces during World War I.

1939-41, Fascist secretary for Suani Ben Adem. For a long time he was committee director of the Fascist Party in Tripoli, of which he was one of the political heads. He also tried to create an important position for himself in the Fascist Party in Italy. One-time Mayor of Tripoli. 1948-49, vice-president of the Italian Representative Committee. January 1950, member of the Italian Democratic League.

Not popular with the Arabs.

**192. Muhammad Rajab al Sukni** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Tripoli in 1894. Educated in Tripoli Arab-Turkish School. Knows Italian and a little Turkish.

During the Italian occupation held several positions as interpreter, Secretary of Arab Affairs, teacher at the Carabinieri School, Arab censor, head of a quarter in Tripoli, announcer on Tripoli radio and also editor of an Arabic newspaper for soldiers. Inspector of Quranic schools since 1946.

Intelligent Arabic scholar. Is one of the most popular figures among the well-to-do classes of Tripoli. Is a talkative *raconteur* but not a serious politician.

**193. Abdul Mutawal Sulaiman** (Cyrenaican)

Appointed Mutassarif of Derna in June 1954. Was previously in the Supplies Department. His appointment has been a conspicuous success.

Appointed Nazir of Finance 12th October, 1955. Appears to be genuinely pro-British.

**194. Ahmad al Sunni** (Tripolitanian)

Born in Mizda about 1890. Descended from Abdullah al Sunni, a Sudan Arab who accompanied the founder of the Sanussiyya Order from Hejaz to Cyrenaica. Distantly related to the Sanussi family. Studied in Mizda, Kairouan and Kufra. Fought the Italians from 1911 to 1929 when he returned from the Fezzan after Badoglio's general amnesty. Until the British occupation always suspected of fomenting trouble. Head of the Sanussiyya Zawia and may be regarded as one of the leading religious dignitaries in the Qibla.



Appointed Nazir of Zawia in July 1943. Has been since 1943 one of the three advisers who represent the Qibla tribesmen. Since 1948 has been in close connexion with Bashir Saadawi, especially after the latter had advocated a united Libya under the Sanussi Amirate. Of an uncompromising character backed by much intelligence. He lost his following during the Italian régime owing to his anti-Italian proclivities. Though having a fine presence and delightful manner, he is not well acquainted with the practical affairs of the Qibla, probably owing to his long absence from the district. A born reactionary. The best that may be said of his efforts under the British régime is that he genuinely believed himself to be furthering British aims by attempting to eliminate all those who had gained power under the Italians.

#### 195. Mubarak Sussi (Cyrenaican)

Born in 1905. Belongs to the Magharba tribe and lives partly in Agedabia and partly in Benghazi. A leading merchant and transport contractor who had influence in the Agedabia area. Business associate of Abul Qasim al Sanussi. Has prospered as a result of desert salvage activities and has managed to sink a lot of money abroad. He tried early in 1955 to split with Abul Qasim and did so in 1956.

Although few people trust him, he is a good business man.

#### 196. Ahmad Swaihli (Tripolitanian)

Born in Misurata in 1883. Brother of the famous rebel leader, Ramadan Swaihli, who fought against the Italians from 1911 to 1915. In 1919, after the death of Ramadan Swaihli, Ahmad took over the leadership and hostilities started again against the Italians. In 1923, following his defeat by the Italians, he and his family emigrated to Egypt.

1940, he was actively opposed to the King and refused to accept the idea of the formation of a Libyan Arab Force unless the British Government was prepared to make certain guarantees of independence in Tripolitania. 1947, appointed honorary president of the Nationalist Party in Tripolitania. 1948, became a member of the Libyan Liberation Committee in Cairo. 1949, supporter of the National Congress Party. 1950, in opposition to Bashir Saadawi he resigned from the National Congress Party. He has not taken an active part in politics since independence.

He has a certain amount of influence in the Misurata area of Tripolitania and was a close associate of Azzam Pasha, former secretary-general of the Arab League.

#### 197. Hussain Tahir (Cyrenaican)

Born 1902 in Cyrene, member of the Hasa tribe. At present living in Barce. Literate in Arabic and Italian. In 1911 he was taken by Enver Pasha to Turkey, where he attended the Military College, Istanbul.

Entered the service of the Italian Administration in Cyrenaica in 1919 as Mudiriya Secretary (2nd class). Served the Italians throughout their campaigns against the Sanussi until 1930. Was recommended for a bronze medal for military valour. From 1930-32 he was interned on suspicion of aiding the rebels. In 1934 he was re-instated and made Mudir of Jerdes al Jerrari, where he remained until 1941, when he was transferred as Mudir of Slonta.

Prior to the first British occupation he rendered valuable assistance to British agents. On the British withdrawal he was again arrested and interned. Released by the second occupation he then went to the Sudan as a refugee, returning to Cyrenaica in 1943. In 1944 he was appointed Mudir of Beda

Littoria, where he incurred the enmity of sections of the Barassa tribe for alleged partiality in allocation of Ente farmsteads. Two attempts were made on his life. In 1947 he was transferred as Mudir of Barce. In July 1949 he was appointed by the Amir as Mutasarrif, Jebel district. Later appointed Mutasarrif of Derna district.

Appointed Nazir of Agriculture and Forestry, June 1954. Appointed Nazir of Health November 1954. A protégé of the late Ibrahim Shalhi.

A supporter of the Sanussis and a protégé of the King, he is influential but not particularly efficient. He belongs to the Omar Mansur Pasha's party.

#### 198. Ali Tamir (Tripolitanian)

Born in Beni Ulid in 1902. Studied in Turkish and Quranic schools. His father was killed by the Italians. Close associate of Yusif Lanqi in Cyrenaica.

In 1946 he was appointed Secretary of Arab Affairs in Beni Ulid, and has used his position there to further his personal interests. Was a member of the Chief Administrator's Arab Advisory Council. Signatory to this council's resolution in favour of British trusteeship in 1946. Beni Ulid representative on the United National Front. October 1949, executive member of the National Congress. Supporter of Bashir Saadawi. Following a visit to Cyrenaica his attitude changed towards Saadawi. November 1950, chosen as National Congress representative (Beni Ulid area) on the Libyan National Assembly. February 1952, was elected as a member for Beni Ulid.

Re-elected in 1956. His brother Hajjiaj Tamir is close to the Egyptian Embassy.

Strong personality but selfish and ambitious, which has lost him some support.

#### 199. Bakir Traish (Tripolitanian)

Born in 1882. Mudir of Qasr Kiar. Army contractor under the Italians. Member of Tripoli's Arab Advisory Council and member of the Arab-Jewish Committee of Reconciliation and Rehabilitation after disturbances of November 1945. Advocated British trusteeship in January 1946. Elected Deputy for Tajura and Castel Verde Constituency on 5th March, 1952.

A pleasant old man who is out to please everybody.

Not re-elected in 1956.

#### 200. Muhammad bin Uthman (Fezzan)

November 1950, appointed Fezzan representative to the Libyan National Assembly. January 1951, Fezzan representative on the United Nations Council for Libya. 29th March, 1951, appointed to the Libyan Federal Government as Minister without portfolio. 17th April, 1951, given the portfolio of Public Health. 24th December, 1951, appointed Minister of Health.

Following the fall of the Muntassir Government he was not given a seat in the Saqisli Government when it was formed in February 1954. He was however re-appointed Minister of Health in the bin Halim Government in April 1954.

Decorations: Order of Independence, 1st Class.

#### 201. Omar Yaqub (Cyrenaican)

Was Controller of Establishments in the Cyrenaican Government. Appointed Nazir of Agriculture and Forests in November 1945. In 1955 he was transferred from this post and took up a post in the Federal Government on liaison duties with Point IV. Went on a course to the United States.

Not a man of marked personality.



**202. Busaif Yasin (Cyrenaican)**

Born in 1905. Bedouin. Belongs to the Magharba tribe. Home in Agedabia but at present living in Derna.

Appointed Naib-Mutasarrif of Cyrene sub-district in October 1949. Promoted to be Mutasarrif of Derna district in May 1950. Shortly after being transferred to Barce in 1952 he was appointed Nazir of Education in May 1952. Appointed Nazir of the Interior in March 1953. Transferred from this post December 26, 1953, and appointed Nazir of Agriculture. Suspended from office April 23, 1954, for reasons connected with the death of a doctor in Cyrenaica. Dismissed from office June 1954. His appointment as Nazir of Interior caused a lot of criticism. Reinstated as Nazir without portfolio 28 January 1955 and March 1955 appointed Nazir of Communications.

Inclined to be conservative in outlook, and a middle-course man until the fortunes of the field are known. More the adviser than the administrator. Not universally popular. A supporter of the Sanussi.

**203. Khalifa Bin Abdul Salam Zantani (Tripolitanian)**

Born 1918 in Tripoli. Studied at Italo-Arab School in Tripoli. In 1934 went to Egypt to study at Al Azhar University.

Returned to Tripoli in 1944 and obtained a post as a school-teacher. Resigned in 1945 as he did not wish to sit a teachers' examination, but resumed his profession late in 1946. He was a leading member of the Nationalist Party in its early days but later became a Kutla supporter. One of the signatories to the petition of 13th January, 1946, protesting at the Arab Advisory Council's resolution asking for a British mandate.

Is well known for his educational lectures and his professional activities. Not politically active.

**204. Sadiq bin Zaraq (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli in 1885. Educated in Tripoli.

Under the Turks was employed as accountant at Tripoli Customs House. Later promoted to Controller of Customs in Zuara and later Sirte. In 1912 went to Turkey and later to Palestine where he worked as a clerk in Jaffa Customs House. During the 1914-18 war acted as a recruiting officer in Jaffa.

In 1921 returned to Tripoli and in 1925 was appointed secretary to Misurata School. Nothing much is known of him during the Italian occupation.

In 1945, after the British occupation, became headmaster of the Arab Elementary School in Tripoli. Arrested for fifteen days in connexion with the November 1945 disturbances. Until June 1947 was vice-president of the Nationalist Party, from which he resigned to form the Liberal Party and

became its president in December 1947. This party never had any following. Discharged from the Education Department in the same year for disciplinary reasons.

A pan-Islamist with an admiration for Turkey. Favoured unity of Libya under Sanussi Amirate. Not an outstanding character. Visited Turkey as a guest of the Turkish Government, August 1956, during the State visit of King Idris to Turkey.

**205. Abdul Aziz Zigallai (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli about 1911. Merchant. Member of the Tripoli Chamber of Commerce. An executive member of the Nationalist Party which was affiliated to the National Congress. Appointed a Tripolitanian member of the Committee of Twenty-one on 7th July, 1950. In November 1950, chosen as Tripoli representative in the Libyan National Assembly, from which he resigned in March 1951, being unable to support the Assembly's federal policy. Member of the Waqf Council. Elected a Deputy for Tripoli town on 19th February, 1952.

Rather a firebrand and inclined to be full of his own importance. A staunch supporter of Bashir Saadawi. Has adopted an anti-Western line in Parliament. Re-elected as a Deputy for Tripoli town in the 1956 elections.

**206. Fadil bin Zikri (Tripolitanian)**

Born in Tripoli about 1898. A member of an old family related by marriage to the Karamanli family. Related to Azzam Pasha by marriage. A merchant and property owner.

Executive member of the Nationalist Party. A member of the Revenue Board and of the Provincial Commissioner's Advisory Council for Tripoli Province. In 1949 he was appointed member of Tripoli Municipal Council. March 29, 1951, appointed first Wali of Tripolitania on Libya's gaining her independence, and also Nazir of the Interior. Relinquished the appointment of Nazir of the Interior in March 1953. Dismissed from his post as Wali of Tripolitania on June 15, 1953 probably because he was too outspoken and critical of the members of the Sanussi family for trying to make as much as they could because of their privileged positions. Since his dismissal he has been critical of the Federal Government and of the King.

Appointed President of the Agricultural Bank early 1956.

Honest, straightforward and well respected by a large majority because of his integrity.

**207. Sulaiman Zinni (Cyrenaican)**

Elected Member of Parliament for Derna in the November 1952 bye-election.

In business as a cinema proprietor and photographer who has made a considerable sum of money.

Did not seek re-election to Parliament in 1956.



